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THE TRUE TRAGEDY

ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREEK
TRAGEDY AND PLATO

BY HELMUT KUHN

I*

"Plato was still a poet of the race of Homer and Pindar
and Aeschylus, though the first of philosophers."

PAUL ELMER MORE

i—*Introduction*

ONLY a brief interval separates Plato's work from the flowering of Attic tragedy. When Sophocles died, Plato had just come of age. So the question naturally arises whether the chronological succession is historically significant. Can we discover a line of development leading from Aeschylus and Sophocles to Plato? Is tragedy among the logical antecedents of Platonic philosophy? In the following pages the attempt at an affirmative answer will be made.

The question of a relationship between tragedy and Plato's philosophy is meaningful only if we think of the two creations as subserving a common cause, the philosopher making a fresh start where the tragedians had left off. The enterprise in which they were successively engaged will be viewed (a) as the working out of an antithetical vision of reality, (b) as a solution to the problem of suffering and evil, and (c) as a deepening of the human self-consciousness.

(a) It is in the nature of reality to lend itself to an interpretation in polar terms. But the Greek mind refused to rush to that easy solution which represents the world as a contest between good and evil—a simplification which is likely to stifle the impulse toward knowledge. The Greek approach to the problem seems calculated to keep it at first in the back-ground so that, when the duality was finally to emerge as a dominant feature, it might unify and articulate a mature vision of reality rather than cripple a nascent picture of the world. Instead of crystallizing at once into definite religious

* NOTE—The second part of this article is expected to appear in a later volume of *H.S.C.P.*

or moral terms, the idea of a basic antagonism permeated experience gradually like a leaven. In this formative process tragedy and Platonic philosophy mark successive stages, and it is difficult to conceive the second without the first. The tragic antithesis of protagonist and antagonist reappears transfigured in Plato's dialogues as the struggle of Socrates against the Sophists, or as the duality of Divine Reason and Necessity. This transfiguration is a progress towards greater clarity. However, the successful clarification of problems that baffled the tragic poets brings up new problems insoluble to Plato, which revealed their full import only to the thinkers of the Christian era, especially to St. Augustine.

(b) An element of perplexity is inherent in all human suffering. The man in distress is prone to ask: Why did this misery overtake me? Whose is the fault? What is its meaning? Thus a community of interests exists between the tragedian who represents suffering and the philosopher who is concerned with man's intellectual perplexity; and it is not surprising that Plato's criticism of poetry largely hinges upon the problem of suffering and of the treatment given it by the poets. They dabble, Plato thinks, in the philosopher's business, and he sets out to supplant their faulty tragedy with a poetry of his own, the "truest tragedy." Plato's hostility to the tragedians is that of a competitor and successor. His rival creation, designed to deal adequately with misery and happiness, has, in large measure, a political and pedagogical meaning. It addresses itself to those who either are unfit for philosophy by nature or have not yet attained to maturity. But it is also stimulated by the disquieting presence of those unsolved problems which arise with Plato's rationalization of the Aeschylean theodicy.

(c) The clarification of the antithetical conception of life throws into prominence the decisive rôle played by the human agent. "It is not I that am the cause, but Zeus and Destiny and Erinys that walks in darkness who put blind fury into my heart." In these words, Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (XIX 86-88, tr. Cornford) excuses a demeanor that all but ruined the Greek cause. The tragic hero no longer acquiesces in this subterfuge, though he still has recourse to it; and in Plato it is definitely banned. The increasing sense of responsibility corresponds to the deepening of man's perplexity

when confronted with the choice. Orestes' question "What shall I do?" and Socrates' problem "What is the good?" mark consecutive stages in the growth of the self-consciousness of the human agent. This process is bound up with a gradual emancipation of the individual from ancient limitations and allegiances. The idea of man as a dependent part of a sacred world-order has found its classical expression in the Greek belief in the cosmos. The growth, therefore, of the consciousness of freedom goes hand in hand with a disintegration of this creed. Regarding this strain of thought, Plato's philosophy will again be seen to push to its logical conclusions a tendency adumbrated in tragedy.

The three trends just distinguished are aspects of a unified development. Only after the first steps were taken toward rationalizing the idea of a universal antagonism did it become possible to raise the problem of suffering in unequivocal terms; and the same clarification brought man face to face with himself as the author of his deeds. The universal significance of this development is twofold, and both aspects will receive attention in the sequel. As a unique process of growth, it supplied one of the corner-stones of our civilization and forms a chapter in the history of human freedom. Awakening from his mythic slumber, man begins to realize what it means to be a human agent. On the other hand, we may look upon the same facts as illustrating a timeless antagonism, and view tragedy and philosophy as alternative ways of dealing with the problem of suffering. The first brings about a catharsis by the poetic utterance of passion, the other assuages passion in contemplation. A profound concord underlies the antagonism of these cures. The pleasurable discharge will not be achieved unless the poet rises to a unified vision of reality, logically deficient though it be. Likewise the contemplative life will become a dishonest escape, unless it grows out of an undaunted recognition of the antinomies of reality. The air of tragedy hovers over Eros, the guiding demon of the philosopher and his likeness, as the *Symposium* depicts him. "Hard is he and parched, shoeless and homeless; on the bare ground always he lies without bedding; and takes his rest on doorsteps and waysides in the open air; true to his mother's nature, he always dwells with want" (203cd, tr. Lamb).

ii—*Drama and Dialectic*

Plato's literary work abounds with evidence of the multitudinous influences under which his thought took shape, and modern research has been successful in evaluating his explicit or tacit references to predecessors and in apportioning its share to each school of thought. As a result, Orphism alongside its close ally Pythagoreanism, Ionian cosmology from Thales down to Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, the Eleatic school, and the Sophists stand out as the chief sources on which Plato drew; not to mention Socrates, whose unique figure is hardly to be disengaged from the work of his great disciple. This list covers the decisive intellectual achievements of the pre-Platonic era with one exception. Greek poetry is rarely granted a major position among Plato's spiritual ancestors. This is not to say that the modern historians of philosophy have failed to utilize Homer, the lyric poets, and Attic tragedy as documents of the mental evolution leading up to Plato's philosophical synthesis. But as a rule the poets in this connection were studied as a medium rather than for what they might have to say on their own account. Pindar, for example, and Sophocles are cited as witnesses of the Orphic creed and thus linked, in an indirect way, with the Platonic world. Since, however, the Orphic idea of a posthumous bliss is a distinctive feature neither of Pindar's odes nor of Sophoclean tragedy, the observation is irrelevant to our present query, which concerns the direct relationship between tragic poetry and Plato. The same holds good of numerous sayings both in lyric poetry and in tragedy which reflect a current popular wisdom. Again the fact that some such dicta are echoed in Plato or Aristotle gives little support to the thesis of an immediate and significant influence. We may or we may not believe that Plato, when elaborating the myth of the origin of civilization which he put into Protagoras' mouth, remembered the second song of the chorus in the *Antigone*. The isolated borrowing, even if it were irrefutably established, would in itself be of little consequence.

In the following pages the problem of the relationship between Platonic philosophy and tragedy as an entity (and not as a medium) will be discussed. With Euripides, Greek tragedy became 'literature' in a new sense of the word. His inquisitive and restless mind

was casting about for fresh solutions to the problems of his day, and he freely experimented with views propounded by contemporary scientists and philosophers. This novel kind of overt intercourse between poetry and philosophy as two types of literature raises special problems which, for our present purpose, may be disregarded. I shall concern myself almost exclusively with Aeschylus and Sophocles. The problem is whether they rank as peers with Plato's acknowledged precursors. The possible objection that poetry should not be taken too seriously as a vehicle of thought, is quickly to be dismissed. The Greeks, at any rate, did take poetry seriously. When Plato enumerates earlier cosmological hypotheses, he adduces Homer along with the Ionian physiologists; and when, in another context, he discredits poetry as fancy, his verdict hits also the pioneers of Greek speculation. Once this is conceded, a sense of historical proportion, aside from any specific arguments, may lead us to seek tragedy among the tributaries of Plato's thought. Plato, a lordly borrower, may well be expected to have laid under contribution a unique creation, like the new philosophy a native of the Attic soil, which "restored to Greek poetry its power of embracing all human interests."¹

A brief examination of the literary form provides another preliminary argument. Aristotle, in a well-known passage of his *Poetics*,² groups the Socratic Conversations (a species comprising not only Plato's writings but also those of Alexamenus, Aeschines, and the rest) with Sophron's and Xenarchus' Mimes. Both types of literature combine prose with dramatic form. The idea of a relationship between the Platonic dialogues and the Mime is further confirmed by Plato's recorded admiration for Sophron's plays, and also by covert allusions to the Sicilian playwright in the dialogues.³ As Sicilian influence is traceable in Aeschylus, an indirect connection between the tragedian and Plato may be assumed.⁴ But

¹ Werner Jaeger, *Paideia, The Ideals of Greek Culture*, tr. Gilbert Highet, Oxford, 1939, p. 239.

² 1447a 28-b 11.

³ Diogenes Laërtius III 18; Duris in Athenaeus XI 504b; Plato *Rep.* V 451c; X 606c; cf. U. v. Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, Berlin, 1881, p. 285.

⁴ Athenaeus IX 402b; cf. W. B. Stanford, "Traces of Sicilian Influence in Aeschylus," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XLIV, C 8 (1938), 229-240.

we need not rest content with this vague surmise. In Aristotle's language, the Socratic Conversations are "of grave importance" (*σπουδαῖοι*), and the Mimes are not. Stressing this distinction between the serious and the ludicrous instead of that between prose and verse, we come to modify Aristotle's observation and to place the Socratic Conversations beside tragedy. Within the framework of the Aristotelian concepts the two pair off as dramatic imitations (in contradistinction to narration) of a serious character. A nucleus of historical significance will be discovered in this classification. In Plato's dialogues the clash of diametrically opposed views takes on dramatic life owing to an assignment of these views to suitable characters—a literary device known under the name of 'syncrisis.' The antagonism of philosophy and sophistry, that is, of two conceptions of life, is represented as a conflict between persons, between Socrates and the Sophists. Plato must have found examples of a dramatized dialectic in Epicharmus, "the pinnacle of comedy,"⁵ and we may picture to ourselves the fierce arguments that Earth had with Sea, or Logos with Logina, as burlesque anticipations of the Socratic *logomachia*.⁶ But with even greater confidence we may assert that a pre-Socratic form of the controversial dialogue is found in tragedy.

In the verbal duels between Antigone and Ismene, Antigone and Creon, Neoptolemus and Odysseus, Electra and Chrysothemis, the unity of viewpoint and character, or of logical contradiction and actual conflict, is the nerve of a dramatic process which culminates in the swift alternation of thrust and counter-thrust of the stichomythy:

Electra: Do not teach me to be unfaithful to those I love.

Chrysothemis: Not this I teach, but to yield to those in power. (*El.* 395-6.)

The conflict between the philosopher and the sophist that animates the Platonic dialogues is, according to Aristotle, based on a divergence of the "choice of life" (*τοῦ βίου τῇ προαίρεσει*).⁷ The one chooses a life worth living, because based on the truth about human life, the other the semblance of such a life. The tragic couples listed

⁵ *Theaetetus*, 152e.

⁶ Cf. Gilbert Norwood, *Greek Comedy*, London, 1931, pp. 105-106.

⁷ *Metaphys.* II 1004b 25-26.

above likewise impersonate contrasting 'lives.' The outer appearance of the two sisters in Sophocles' *Electra* is calculated to make this clear. Electra is discovered pale, with haggard looks, outworn, in rags, Chrysothemis fresh and youthful, in princely garments. Again there is no doubt that these conflicting patterns of life do not simply express divergent characters, but result from a decision. "Make at last your choice!" Electra impatiently demands,⁸ and she contends that the issue is between the right, loyally defended at whatever price, and the comforts of life bought by cowardice.⁹ In the sequel we shall meet the notion of the tragic choice again.

In the variegated host of Sophists portrayed by Plato we discern a peculiar type most brilliantly represented by Protagoras. In him and his like, prudence and adaptability come to resemble temperance; and opportunism, disguised as wisdom, assumes an air of dignity. His notion that for the citizens good is whatever the state, and that means its rulers, consider good, goes well with Ismene's or Chrysothemis' maxim: Yield to the mighty! Chrysothemis' hope to find forbearance (*συγγνώμη*)¹⁰ from him whose memory she betrays may be viewed as the feminine counter-part to the Sophist's humble and self-complacent claim to contribute his bit to the propagation of the very knowledge the foundations of which he denies. A kindred constellation characterizes both the tragic and the Platonic-dialectical antagonism. Uncompromising firmness joins issue with the artful versatility of the children of this world. The similarity of the basic configuration occasionally results in identical forms of speech. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* Odysseus, master in the art of "deceiving the soul by words,"¹¹ proclaims as the upshot of his wisdom that "the tongue, and not deeds, rules the world."¹² Infuriated by Neoptolemus' refusal to conform to his plans, he exclaims: "By the gods, do you say this to insult me?" "Not unless it is insult to tell the truth," Neoptolemus retorts.¹³ In the opening paragraph of the *Apology* Socrates warns his judges not to confuse his own way of speaking with the sophistic rhetoric of a lawyer. My hearers will find that I am no orator, he says, "unless they consider a powerful orator him who tells the truth." The naked truth,

⁸ *Electra*, 345.

⁹ *Ibid.* 359-364.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 400.

¹¹ *Philoctetes*, 55.

¹² *Ibid.* 99.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1235-1236.

ironically concealing its splendor in an annexed clause, puts to shame the misuse and misinterpretation of language.¹⁴

A last instance is designed to show an analogy of dramatic structure, and again its root is in an underlying parallelism of situation. In Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* the conflict is between the "anthropophile" Titan, the savior of mankind, and Zeus, the new ruler of the universe, tyrannical, irritable, and vindictive. Their struggle dramatizes to some extent the antagonism of right and might. Three persons (or groups of persons) successively approach the sufferer, each in his own way reflecting the power of Zeus and trying to mediate between the antagonists. First the Oceanids appear, mildly upbraiding Prometheus for his over-bold language. Oceanus follows, in word and deed a devotee of the maxim "not to kick against the pricks";¹⁵ finally Hermes arrives, a docile instrument of the supreme power, the prototype of the stage-courtier. But reproach, argument, and threat merely serve to stir the Titan's defiance into open rebellion. This outline of the tragic plot may be compared with the composition of Plato's *Gorgias*, a dialogue which, roughly speaking, also hinges upon the problem of might and right. Again we find three emissaries of the principle of the 'tyrannical life' taking issue with the advocate of justice, and their succession too forms a climax. The principle is merely implied in Polos' notion of a morally neutral rhetoric (but the orator's power is significantly compared with that of a tyrant);¹⁶ it is professed by Gorgias with restrictions imposed by a conventional bashfulness; and it comes out into the open with the unscrupulous Callicles: might is right. Socrates is not nailed to a solitary cliff. But even in the urbane Platonic disputation, with its intellectually rarified atmosphere, tragedy looms up. Callicles' words broadly hint at the fate which awaits Socrates.¹⁷ Moreover, Plato himself encourages us to link the world of his dialogue with that of tragedy. The alternative at issue is illustrated by a reference to Zethus and Amphion, the dissimilar brothers brought on the stage by Euripides in his *Antiope*: the one bold, strong, and rough, the other a gentle friend of the

¹⁴ Louis Dyer in "Plato as Playwright," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XII (1901), 171, calls attention to an analogy between the prologue in tragedy and that in Plato's dialogues.

¹⁵ *P.V.* 323.

¹⁶ 466b.

¹⁷ 486ab.

muses, the first representing the active, the second the contemplative life.¹⁸ Both tragedy and Platonic dialogue are largely concerned with dialectically opposed patterns of life.

However, the antithesis of the active and the theoretical life must not be taken at its face-value. To grasp its meaning, a comparison with the playful dialectic of the *Hippias Minor* will be helpful. Knowledge, Plato here intimates, is inseparable from excellence in general. Hence Odysseus, superior to Achilles in cleverness, must be recognized as the better man of the two. But Sophocles had placed the man of the deed above the man of the tongue, and so it seems as if Plato had reversed the tragedians' scale of values. Actually, he confirms it in a curiously modified form. For 'tongue' he substitutes 'word' (λόγος), for cleverness wisdom. A double-barrelled argument is presented in the *Hippias Minor*, or rather the explicit reasoning is ironically contradicted by the dramatic configuration. Both Achilles and Odysseus are found inconsistent in their words, but Odysseus is so voluntarily; and this, paradoxically, leads to the conclusion that Odysseus is the better man. Yet we are also led to sense that Socrates, the better of the two interlocutors, is the true Achilles, the man who, according to the *Apology*, prefers early death to an inglorious life,¹⁹ the warrior whose exploit is commemorated in the *Symposium*, while the portrait of Hippias is a satirical comment on Odysseus' proverbial resourcefulness (πολυμηχανία).²⁰ The immediate objective of this meaningful ambiguity is to show that the Homeric polarity of Achilles and Odysseus, or Achilles and Nestor, the knower and the

¹⁸ 485e. Cf. W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884-1886, I 310-11. William H. Thompson, in his edition of the *Gorgias*, London, 1894, commenting on *Gorgias* 464d, points out traces of stage terminology in the dialogue.

¹⁹ *Apology* 28cd. Nobody will take the derogatory remarks on Achilles in the *Hippias Minor* as a straightforward expression of Plato's opinion. Are we perhaps allowed to understand the quotation of the famous line on Achilles' return to Phthia (370b) as an ironical cross-reference to *Crito* 44b?

²⁰ There are still other places in Plato's dialogues where Odysseus or Nestor are forced into a somewhat disreputable association with the Sophists. In *Phaedrus* 261b the rhetoric of Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and Theodorus is ironically fathered on those two heroic figures; and in the *Hippias Major*, 286b, the swaggering sophist puts his wisdom in Nestor's mouth.

doer, must be revised. But there is still a subtler implication in this literary play. Plato's own adaptation of the myth is marked off against its parallel modernized version current among the Sophists. It is Callicles, a politician associated with the Sophists, who in the *Gorgias* contrasts the active Zethus and the contemplative Amphion. Similarly Hippias sets Achilles the best man over against Nestor the wisest.²¹ As in the first case Socrates is revealed to be Zethos and Amphion in one, the true politician and the true thinker, so in the second the unity of virtue and wisdom is pointed out. Plato, repudiating the sophistic dichotomy of the practical and the theoretical life, reverts to an antagonism closer to that represented in tragedy. The one firmly anchored in the Divine opposes the multiform representatives of fluctuating life. Like Aeschylus, Plato discovers a forecast of his polar vision in the myth; and for both the tragedian and the philosopher the overthrow of the Titanic lawlessness by Zeus, the lord of an era of wisdom and justice, is the key-note of their symbolism.²² There is some truth in Hegel's assertion that the tragic character is both an individual and 'moral force,' the two welded into an indestructible unity.²³ With this conception in mind, we may well look upon Socrates as a kinsman of Aeschylus' and Sophocles' heroes. He is truly one, firm amidst the dangers of the battle and in the face of imminent death, saying always "the same about the same," ironically disguising the adamant quality of his mind behind a show of doubt and wavering.²⁴ As Socrates stands before us in the dialogues, he seems a creation of Plato the tragedian—the Achilles of a new age, but also a scion of the stock of the tragic seers, an "awakener" and a "spur" like Tiresias, who roused Oedipus' and Creon's souls from their

²¹ *Hipp. Min.* 364c.

²² See below, pp. 35-36. Cf. the humorous remark on the Titan Typhon in *Phaedrus* 230a, the "Battle of the Giants" in *Soph.* 246a, the reference to the "Titanic life" in *Laws* 701c, the life and death struggle of the legendary Athens against Atlantis in the *Timaeus* and *Critias*, furthermore the kindred symbol of the wolf and the dog in *Soph.* 231a, *Rep.* 375a and 565d, *Phaedrus* 214d. See F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, London, 1935, p. 182.

²³ "Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik," *Sämtliche Werke*, Stuttgart, 1928, XIV 528.

²⁴ Cf. *Hippias Minor* 376c.

fatal numbness.²⁵ In addition to all this he makes us think of "Plato the mime-writer, casting Socrates for the rôle of *ieron*."²⁶

iii—*Plato: Enemy and Follower of the Tragedians*

The reader may feel tempted to cut short this accumulation of evidence by the remark that our argument is flatly contradicted by Plato's own view of the matter. We are trying to find germs of Platonic wisdom in tragedy. But Plato scoffed at those who believed they discovered any wisdom in tragedy.²⁷ This reminder brings down upon us a host of related objections. Everyone knows Plato's scathing criticism of poetry, and this topic of his teaching, appalling to the lover of art by its rigidity, has been examined time and again, especially by recent critics. I shall not attempt either to rehash the familiar story or to submit a fresh version. But it is worth while noting that the tragedian bears the brunt of the attacks levelled at the tribe of the poets and imitators in general. He is specifically named to receive the verdict of expulsion from the ideal city;²⁸ and where the great poets and lawgivers are classed with the true lovers of wisdom, we find the names of Homer, Hesiod, and Solon, but no mention of Aeschylus or Sophocles is made.²⁹ The judgment passed on those imitations which are "at three removes" from the model hits the tragedian's work with a twofold condemnation. In addition to its remoteness from truth it is mimetic in the specific sense that differentiates dramatic representation from narration.³⁰ It compels the actor to assume an attitude not his own and speak borrowed words, thus splitting up his personality. Yet to be truly one should be the goal of all our endeavors. To make things worse, the tragic actor is made to imitate unholy actions such as Oedipus' incest.³¹ Imitation is the human way of partaking of goodness as well as of the reverse. The faulty ideas about gods, demigods, and heroes are common to all poets. But these errors are more injurious in him who induces others to give, by bodily movements and uttered words, a semblance of reality to his calumnious

²⁵ Cf. Erwin Wolff, *Platos Apologie*, Berlin, 1929, pp. 81-84.

²⁶ F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 162.

²⁷ *Rep.* 568a.

²⁸ *Laws*, 817a-b.

²⁹ *Symposium*, 209cd; *Phaedrus*, 278c.

³⁰ *Rep.* 394-395b.

³¹ *Laws*, 838c.

misconceptions. Furthermore the tragedian, follower of an "effeminate Muse,"³² is charged with showing his heroes indulging in verbose lamentation. The hearers, moved to sympathetic suffering, respond with a similar discharge of emotion, setting aside the self-constraint which decency imposes on the well-bred.³³ This objection is tantamount to a negation of the essence of tragedy. Tragic lament and tragic suffering are as inseparable from each other as emotion and expressive gesture. We cannot repudiate the one without rejecting the other.

According to Aristotle's judicious remark tragic suffering is the suffering of one whose guilt is slight compared with his misery. This alarming disproportion, inexplicable to reason, is usually connected in the mind of the tragedian with the idea of a divine authorship or rather co-authorship. Man is caught in a net woven out of free choice, fatal necessity, and divine instigation, and there is no means of disentangling these threads. But this view of human life runs counter to two of Plato's basic convictions. First, to ascribe to the godhead any measure of causation of evil is blasphemy; and second, the disproportion of desert and happiness is mere semblance. Happiness and goodness are one. Therefore it is a scandal to say, as Aeschylus does, that god sends guilt to the mortals when he has set his mind on ruining a house.³⁴ In the last analysis, the ignorance of the tragedian is responsible for the shortcomings of his creations. His incompetence in the very matter with which he deals is clearly shown by the fact that he specializes in the representation of allegedly noble characters, leaving it to the comedian to depict the mean and despicable. But as in medical knowledge the competent student has a discernment both of health and sickness, so in every art the knowledge of the specific good implies the knowledge of its contrary: *μία δύναμις τῶν ἐναντίων*. The fragmentariness of the tragedian's art casts a doubt on its soundness. If it were based on an authentic insight into human nobility, it would be one with the art of the comedian.³⁵ As it actually is, it is unable to give a faithful picture of the "tragedy and comedy of life."³⁶

³² *Laws*, 817d.

³³ *Rep.* 605cd.

³⁴ *Rep.* 380a; Aeschylus, *Niobe*, fr. 160.

³⁵ *Rep.* 395a; *Symposium*, 223d.

³⁶ *Philebus*, 50b.

So it appears that Plato, if he ever took lessons from the tragedians, was a most ungrateful pupil. The fire that according to the anecdote consumed his youthful essays in tragedy seems to have burned out whatever early attachment to the master tragedians may have been in his heart. If, in a survey of all explicit references to tragedy in Plato's writings, we deduct the polemic ones, very few are left, most of them insignificant. From the point of view of our thesis this is discouraging. It is the more so as the arguments so far advanced in its favor are open to two objections. (1) Sophocles, one may argue, has probably learned from Protagoras and Gorgias and, as a result, the analogies between the tragedian and Plato might be due to the indebtedness of both to the Sophistic Movement. (2) However dramatic we take Plato's dialogues to be, we should not overlook the gulf separating the Greek drama, which is a unity of poetry, pageantry, and music, from works of literature such as the Platonic dialogues. We have also to admit that the dialectic form in Plato is dramatic only in a limited way. The most momentous happening imaginable within the Platonic world, the act in which, on Plato's own premises, thought and life are completely blended, has never been dramatized by Plato. Sophocles, who had a notion of this act, called it 'conversion,' μεταγνῶναι³⁷—an expression which comes close to the μετανοεῖν of the New Testament. In Plato it is described as a turning round (στρέφειν or περιαγωγή) of the whole soul from darkness to light,³⁸ or as the choice of one of the two patterns of life laid up in heaven.³⁹ This omission should be ascribed neither to chance nor to a lack of artistic capability. It rather points to the chief purpose of Plato's writings—a purpose which differs from that of any other kind of dramatic or mimetic representation. Plato was not interested in dramatizing the human event of paramount importance, the change of heart, but rather in bringing it about by initiating a dialectical process in the mind of the reader.

A gulf, it is true, separates Plato's dialogues from tragedy. But as contrast in some and kinship in other respects go together, it may be possible to offset the above arguments by a series of counter-

³⁷ *Philoctetes*, 1270.

³⁸ *Rep.* 518c, 521c.

³⁹ *Theaetetus*, 176e.

arguments. Another set of objections, however, will seem to carry even more weight than those just advanced. Reviewing a number of formal analogies, we seem to have relapsed into treating tragedy as a mere medium—a medium or vehicle, namely, not of ideas, Orphic, Pythagorean, or otherwise, but of literary forms. Furthermore, the adduced analogies, in so far as they go beyond a formal correspondence, bring up the problem of a second causal agency operative beside or rather behind tragedy: the myth. Admitted that the dramatic antagonism is parallel in various respects to the tragic conflict, yet a different interpretation may be placed upon this fact. The antithetical conception of the world is older than tragedy and it stretches beyond poetry. It is not enough to assert that the philosophical dialogue resumes and transforms the tragic struggle. Both tragedy and comedy on the one hand, and the Platonic dialogue on the other, may be said to express at different levels of thought a conflict the genetic prototype of which is found in the *Agon* of the Dionysiac *Sacer Ludus*.⁴⁰ The metaphysical dualism, asserting itself throughout the history of the Greek mind, may have taken its first shape in the contest between protagonist and antagonist in prehistoric spring festivals. Tragedy and comedy, thoroughly though they refined on this mimetic raw-material, preserved the antiphonic pattern. The antagonism is reflected in the polar notions of Ionian cosmology, in the dualism of the Pythagoreans and the Eleatics,⁴¹ in the Sophistic dialectic, and it finally reaches its consummate spiritualization in the struggle of Socrates against the Sophists as staged by Plato. The genealogical line traced from Plato backward does not terminate in tragedy.

As we face these objections, we have to admit that so far our argument is not conclusive. Taken by themselves, the formal analogies are doubtful witnesses. To make them eloquent and, within reasonable limits, trustworthy, we have to read their testi-

⁴⁰ Gilbert Murray, "On the Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy," in Jane E. Harrison, *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 341-363; Jane E. Harrison, *Ancient Art and Ritual*, New York, 1913; F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, Cambridge, 1934.

⁴¹ Cf. W. C. Greene, "Fate, Good and Evil in Pre-Socratic Philosophy," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVII (1936), 96.

mony in the light of an insight gleaned from elsewhere. The meaning of a form, and also of a formal analogy, depends upon the whole of which the form is a manifestation. We have to ask whether there is a causal relationship between the essential meaning of tragedy and the gist of Plato's writings.

A brief remark on the two types of 'causal relationship' and causal assertions in historiography may here find its place. First, the historian may single out a number of units, A, B, . . . , each unit standing for an 'event' in the broadest sense of the word, and then state the dependence of B upon A. In the second place, he may combine a large number of such dependent units into a comprehensive pattern which, if directed toward a goal, is called development. In order to point out that B is caused by A he has to locate both within this developmental scheme. The two types include each other. Assertions of the first are meaningful only in their context; and an exclusive attention to the second tends to suppress the individual as a center of spontaneous activity. The statement "Plato took the Prometheus motif in the *Gorgias* from Aeschylus" is an instance of the first type. The other is illustrated by a quotation from Professor Jaeger's *Paideia* which, incidentally, has a bearing on our specific problem. "It seems a short and inevitable journey from Pindar to Plato, from the aristocracy of race to the aristocracy of spirit and intelligence; but the transition can be made only through Aeschylus."⁴² In the following pages the available evidence for the direct and elementary kind of causality must be carefully examined. For obvious reasons, however, I shall have to lean heavily on the more complex arguments of the second type.

In the light of these elucidations the argument just adduced as an objection—the one taken from the history of Greek ritual and myth—will now be seen to support our view and to supply a rudimentary frame-work for our further analysis. The development of a metaphysical antagonism may be viewed as the axis in the scheme of our historical topology. It would be our task to determine the places occupied on this line by tragedy and Platonic philosophy respectively. There may be a growth of some fundamental insight, the maturation of some dominant thought. Tragedy may mark an

⁴² *Op. cit.* (see n. 1), p. 237.

earlier, Platonism a subsequent stage of this process, and if this is so, the later form will be conditioned by the preceding; and within this comprehensive picture the Sophistic Movement, the most elusive of its components, will be assigned its place.

The harshness of Plato's verdict implies an acknowledgment of the might of poetry. This obvious statement has been abundantly insisted upon by recent critics. It has also been pointed out that Plato, strictly speaking, condemns not so much poetry but rather certain types of poetry, everything, it is true, that in his day went under this name. For Plato the idea of an "ancient feud between poetry and philosophy"⁴³ had a very massive and by no means metaphorical meaning. Plato desired to supplant the traditional poetic *Logos* with his novel dialectical *Logos*. The praise of the life of the blessed ones, men or gods, the main subject recommended to poets for treatment in the ideal state, is properly to be performed only by dint of that masterful control of the language in the right fitting together of words (*ἁρμονία λόγων*) which, according to the *Theaetetus*,⁴⁴ the philosophical mind alone is apt to achieve. Conceived as a celebration of true perfection,⁴⁵ the philosophical discourse assumed a task that formerly fell to the poet. Accordingly Plato was bent on superseding the tragedy of the stage by the genuine tragedy. "We ourselves," the Athenian in the *Laws* is made to say, "to the best of our ability are the authors of a tragedy at once superlatively fair and good; at least, all our polity is framed as a representation (*μίμησις*) of the fairest and best life, which is in reality, as we assert, the truest tragedy."⁴⁶ We shall venture to take this assertion as literally as we possibly can. Under its guidance we may discover Plato improving on a scheme of thought which he found in tragedy.

The scheme of thought in question is a total view of human life, and Plato evidently believed that life as reflected in tragedy is not "the fairest and best life." This does not mean that in his own version of the great theme evil was to be omitted. It is impossible, we read in the *Theaetetus*,⁴⁷ that evils should ever be done away with, for "there must always be something opposed to the good." But

⁴³ *Rep.* 607b.

⁴⁴ 176a.

⁴⁵ *Timaeus* 19d.

⁴⁶ *Laws* 817b.

⁴⁷ 176a.

the evil must be assigned its proper place, banished as it is from the divine and confined to hovering about mortal nature. So the restoration of life to its beauty and excellence is not an arbitrary embellishment. Plato wishes to rectify an error committed by the tragedians. Their error, expressed in the language of the myth, consisted in this, that they granted evil a seat among the gods.

Tragedy as mirroring human life is first of all a picture of human happiness and misery and of the agencies bringing about the one and the other. There have been endless controversies as to the nature of these agencies and the tragic guilt; and idealistic expositors urge us to take tragedy as a vindication of human freedom upheld in the teeth of Necessity.⁴⁸ The inconclusiveness of these debates warns us not to seek in tragedy intellectual decisions whose logical inevitability the pre-Socratic mind found it possible to ignore. Yet this much can be asserted: tragedy, on the whole, knows of three agencies, the human will, the divine will, and Fate. But neither in the general scheme of things nor in any particular case can the proportionate contribution of each of these three factors be ascertained. They are amazingly entangled and interwoven. Take Orestes' matricide in the *Oresteia*. After a painful inner struggle Orestes makes up his mind and does the deed—*his* deed, "willed by my hands," but at the same time "willed by the gods," by Apollo namely, under whose guidance the mortal acts.⁴⁹ But there is still a third partner involved: Fate, an inexorable necessity that drives the members of the cursed house into mutual slaughter. In some cases Fate seems predominant, in others the divine intervention, in a third class man's own choice. But none of these three factors is ever wholly absent. There seems to be little room for freedom in *Oedipus Rex*. The disastrous truth gradually unveiled in the drama is a truth about things of the past. There is no undoing of the things done. And even while they were being done, they were done blindly, in the night of a fatal ignorance. But the human will is none the less powerfully exhibited. The unveiling of the truth is Oedipus' own work, his the feverish search for the author of the present misery ending in the discovery of himself. And again, when

⁴⁸ Cf. Max Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 144.

⁴⁹ *Choeph.* 436-437.

Aeschylus' Clytemnestra disclaims all guilt in the murder of her husband, even the hostile chorus, while rebuking her, readily admits that a demon of revenge (*ἀλάστωρ*) shares responsibility with her.⁵⁰

Aiṛia is guilt and cause in one. In point of fact, the question of the moral quality of the three causal agencies admits as little of a clear answer as the problem of their relative efficacy. There is no massive dualism of the powers of light and the powers of darkness in Greek poetry. As we may expect, man can act both ways, as a knave or as a hero. The duality of the superhuman powers, of the gods on the one hand and Fate on the other, does not express the contrast between good and evil either. In a great many cases it is not even possible to tell the works of the Olympians from those of Necessity. The intervention of Fate strikes men's hearts with terror but also with awe. Fate or Necessity comprises both *Ate*, a malignant power of destruction, and *Moirā*, a principle of the proportionate allotment of 'shares,' and also of order, equilibrium, and retribution. As such it is invested with a moral or rather judicial dignity, giving effect to a universal *lex talionis*: "For a murderous blow let a murderous blow be struck. Let the doer suffer!"⁵¹ On the other hand, we are told that nothing happens, neither good nor evil, that is not sent by the gods.⁵² How, then, is it possible to exonerate the gods?

Plato appears as the Alexander cutting the Gordian knot. To him the godhead is flawless perfection, fount of the good and of the good alone.⁵³ This conviction, however, does not dispense with Necessity, the condition though not the sufficient cause of evil. Necessity, with Plato, is "open to persuasion."⁵⁴ In vain shall we look in Plato's dialogues for an explicit metaphysical account of the origin of evil. But on the moral plane his position is of the utmost clarity. God has no share in man's wrongdoing. Man alone is to blame. This is the message of Lachesis, the "daughter of Necessity," solemnly proclaimed to the souls as they are about to pick a "pattern of life": "The responsibility (*aiṛia*) is with the chooser.

⁵⁰ *Ag.* 1497-1508.

⁵¹ *Choeph.* 311-2, tr. George Thomson; cf. *Persae* 813-4; Sophocles, fr. 877; Plato, *Laws* 872de.

⁵² *Ag.* 1487-1488.

⁵³ *Rep.* 379b.

⁵⁴ *Timaeus*, 48a.

God is guiltless.”⁵⁵ Similarly the Demiurge in the *Timaeus*, when he creates the immortal part of the human soul, takes care to secure an equal chance to every one, to the end “that he might be guiltless of the future wickedness of any of them.”⁵⁶

On the metaphysical level this uncompromising attitude entails far-reaching conclusions. As the world is ruled by the Good, there must be a perfect equilibrium of desert and reward, or of moral goodness and happiness. This belief is imperatively needed to restore the balance in the moral world revolutionized by Plato’s thought. No subterfuge and no excuse is left for the agent to shirk full responsibility, no all-powerful fate, no ineluctable curse, no *Ate*. He is faced squarely with his guilt and must acknowledge it as his own. But in return he derives a new benefit from his good actions. They also become emphatically his own, and neither chance nor fatality will dispute him the fruits of his virtue. He shall live a life of his own choosing.

The ideals of total responsibility and total retribution are contradicted by common experience, and Plato has to enforce his view by what seems an act of violence. Common experience shows the vast influence on human actions of factors beyond human control, of innate character and given circumstances. The tragic ideas of *Heimarmene*, *Ate*, and the like thrive in the opaque intermediate sphere between human agency and stolid factuality. Plato denies the existence of this sphere. To him the coercive power of the ‘type of life’ which a person lives (this notion of *bios* embraces both character and circumstances, or mode of behavior and environment) is a mere semblance. The seemingly irresistible springs of our wrongdoing stem from errors committed in a former incarnation. The misery of the just, a fact writ large in the memory of mankind, is a fact only within the narrow horizon of our ephemeral existence. The reward will come, either in this life or hereafter. Plato’s view here collides with that embodied in tragedy. This conflict (which is at the same time a conflict with common sense) drives Plato into a new type of poetry competing with, and in its main tendency antithetical to, tragedy. The contradictions arising from the twin ideas of total responsibility and total retribution are insoluble if we con-

⁵⁵ *Rep.* 617e.

⁵⁶ *Tim.* 42d, tr. Cornford.

sider birth and death as the absolute bounds of human life. The myth of a pre-natal and posthumous existence of the soul images forth a truth which mere reasoning is unable to grasp. Considered as a dogma, the idea of metempsychosis pushes the problem into a remote past and far-off future instead of solving it. Only if we read it as poetry, that is, as pointing to a truth rather than clothing it in imagery, does the myth become meaningful.

Plato himself indicates the difference between his poetic myth and poetry in the ordinary sense of the word. "Not that I have a low opinion of poets in general," Socrates is made to say in the *Timaeus*, "but anyone can see that an imitator, of whatever sort, will reproduce best and most easily the surroundings in which he has been brought up."⁵⁷ The philosopher has been brought up in an environment different from that which nourished the poet's imagination. His mind has matured in the contact with everlasting objects, located in the outermost heaven and the region beyond, "a place which no poet here has ever sung nor will sing worthily ever." So the philosopher alone is fitted to celebrate the newly discovered perfection of life. The Orphic idea of a transmigration of the soul is more than a patch-work of imagery covering up a gap in the argument. It has a "perspective" significance. Once we embrace it, the facts adverse to Plato's view—the apparent fatality responsible at least for certain misdeeds, and the apparent misery of at least some people who deserve better—begin to shrink. Placed within an infinitely enlarged temporal horizon, they are dwarfed and seem illusory. Tragedy, and poetry in general, takes very seriously the affairs of this life of ours, limited as it is by birth and death. The Platonic poetry is animated by the conviction that "no human affairs are worth taking very seriously."⁵⁸ The deception that makes us tragically declaim and lament over an alleged disproportion between merit and happiness is one of perspective or viewpoint. The harmony of justice and happiness, poetically symbolized in the Orphic-Platonic myth, is manifest only to the just. He alone possesses the right measuring-rod for discerning and appraising true pleasure and true pain.⁵⁹

The point argued here is that Plato's philosophy is not only un-

⁵⁷ 19d, tr. Cornford.

⁵⁸ *Rep.* 604c; *Laws*, 803b.

⁵⁹ *Laws*, 663b.

tragic, in that it denies the reality of the tragic event, but anti-tragic, a conscious counterthrust to the philosophy of life conveyed by tragedy; that this antithetical relationship is as clearly marked as, say, that between Plato's idealism and the mechanical account of the universe propounded by the Atomists; and, furthermore, that the latter antagonism is hardly more important as a determinant in the set-up of Plato's thought than that other antagonism to which this discussion is devoted. Aristotle thinks the misfortune should be brought upon the tragic hero not by vice or depravity but by some failure or tripping (*ἀμαρτία*), as it may easily occur in a man neither pre-eminently virtuous nor wicked.⁶⁰ The underlying observation is that a disproportion exists between cause and effect, between guilt and resulting catastrophe. Reduced to this form, the remark is borne out by all the extant tragedies. Prometheus' rebellious defiance, Oedipus' petulance and irascibility, Ajax' overweening pride—all these shortcomings and errors are far outweighed by the disaster which they conjure up. In other cases it is hard to discover any guilt at all. Tragedy does not and cannot exhibit that just balance of happiness and merit, misery and guilt which Plato requires. Its meaning is not resolvable into a moral calculus. Prometheus' last words are echoed throughout Greek tragedy: "Behold what pangs unjust I bear." It is characteristic for the tragic hero to act and to suffer in the face of the ineradicable opacity of the moral order. This opacity is keenly and painfully felt by most of Aeschylus' heroes, while Sophocles' serene mind seems less troubled by it. But his devout acquiescence in the mystery impresses us even more strongly with a sense of its presence than Aeschylus' struggling after clarity.

The just punishment inflicted upon a malefactor does not arouse the tragic pathos. This is the unwritten law strictly adhered to by the tragedians. Over against this view Plato sets his antithesis. There is but one true misery, injustice. The transgression and its penalty are one. There is no more fearful affliction than that of being condemned to a life of injustice. In accordance herewith Plato depicts the wretchedness of the pursuit of pleasure for pleasure's sake—the life symbolized by the leaking jar, incessantly filled

⁶⁰ *Poetics*, 1453a, 7-10.

and emptied, frustration wedded to desire in eternal alternation.⁶¹ Portraying the hero of depravity, in the *Gorgias* and in the ninth book of the *Republic*,⁶² the untamed lion and the ruler stung by the hornet of the perverted Eros, Plato invests him with the gloomy splendor of fallen greatness—a note almost unheard of in earlier Greek literature. Aeschylus' Clytemnestra and Euripides' Medea are among the rare parallels which come to our mind. But firmly though Plato held up the principles of his moral theodicy, he was not blind to that 'perspective illusion' which perturbs us with the spectacle of suffering innocence and triumphant crime. There is no doubt in his mind about the inevitability of this delusion and the fearful sway it wields over mankind. He also did not flatter himself with the dream of a mankind ultimately raised to that clarity of philosophical insight which dispels the spectre of a world incongruous to the moral postulate. Thus he felt constrained to face an experience with which the poets were intimately conversant and of which they tried to make sense in their own way. Plato, taking up this ancient subject, radically reverses the position assumed by those before him. But we shall see that this opposition to the poets and especially to the tragedians brings him close to his opponents. The antagonism reveals kinship.

Antigone's last words, just like those of Prometheus, refer to the wrong she suffers:

What law of the gods did I violate?
How can I look to heaven? On whom
Call to befriend me? seeing that I have earned
By piety the meed of impious?⁶³

Ajax dies with a curse for his enemies and an invocation of the demons of revenge on his lips. Oedipus insists on his innocence: what he did was done involuntarily.⁶⁴ There is no reconciliation in the mind of these sufferers. This is not to say that the insoluble problem of a moral theodicy is predominant in any of Aeschylus' or Sophocles' tragedies. The contention is that it is absent in none of them. It often seems merely a concomitant feature, an aspect of that other truth repeatedly proclaimed by tragedy in unison with

⁶¹ *Gorgias*, 493ab.

⁶² *Gorgias*, 484a, *Rep.* 571-580.

⁶³ *Antig.* 922-924, tr. Campbell.

⁶⁴ *Oed. Col.* 522.

Greek poetry as a whole—the truth of the preponderance of suffering in human life.⁶⁵ But even so the question of right and wrong remains inseparably linked with the meaning of all tragic acting and suffering. Tragedy reveals man on the verge of being engulfed by excessive tribulations. The suffering, however, is not merely the acute pain caused by some concrete calamity, nor is it the despair alone of one who deems life not worth living because of the excess of sorrow over joy. Tragic suffering is ennobled by the anxiety of such questions as: Does all this happen to me of right? Nothing comes about against the will of the gods. But how, then, do they allow an injustice to pass such as has overtaken me now? In tragedy, the direct and pragmatic suffering and ‘the suffering from suffering,’ the primary affliction and the perplexity at the apparent disproportion of the moral order, are inextricably one. Without its metaphysical overtones the effusive lament, melodiously though it be expressed, would be dull or repellent. The tragic struggles have to be fought in the dark—amidst the night of human ignorance with regard to the meaning of the things to be done or to be suffered.

The reality of this suffering cannot be explained away as a perspective illusion dissolving in the light of a deeper insight. To make progress in wisdom rather means to learn how to face this reality without wincing. It is this unwavering recognition of the reality of suffering that earned the tragedians Nietzsche’s applause and suggested to him the conception of a tragic age of Greek civilization brought to an end by Socrates’ rationalism. But the tragedian’s outlook on life is as little pessimistic in Schopenhauer’s and Nietzsche’s sense as Socrates or Plato are votaries of an ‘optimistic rationalism.’ Man in tragedy attains to wisdom through affliction. “Taught by suffering” (πάθει μάθος)⁶⁶ is the pointed expression of this belief. The school of affliction leads to an acquiescence in the will of the gods. On the intellectual plane, the supreme act of ac-

⁶⁵ S. H. Butcher, ‘The Melancholy of the Greeks,’ in *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, 3d ed., London, 1904; H. Diels, *Der antike Pessimismus*, Berlin, 1921; W. Nestle, “Der Pessimismus und seine Überwindung bei den Griechen,” *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XLVII (1921).

⁶⁶ *Ag.* 177, 249, 1425, 1619–1620; *Eumen.* 519; *Antig.* 927.

ceptance is voiced as the pious conviction that the gods rule the world in wisdom and justice. In spite of all evidence to the contrary, Justice and Necessity are one in Zeus. In the affirmation of this faith the tragic insight reaches its consummation. The 'in spite of' should be stressed. Evil and suffering remain what they were, the skeins of causation are not disentangled, no light is shed on the contradictions which trouble the mind eager to understand and to justify. The knowledge obtained embraces and reconciles the logically incompatible. It is the fruit of sorrow, not to be divulged in rational terms, given him alone who has paid the price of suffering. The hearer, imaginatively sharing the sorrow, is admitted to an imaginative fruition of the gain. The catharsis which he experiences is the correlate of the tragic hero's 'mournful wisdom.'

The tragic wisdom is an initiation into human suffering rather than its moral justification or a theoretical minimizing of its reality. *Oedipus Rex* is particularly revealing in this respect. On the surface the struggle is between an inexorable fate and its victim, great in will-power and yet utterly helpless. Fate has already done its work when the play starts, and the plot is the successive unveiling of its verdict. The revelation of the past has a deeper meaning than that of impressing us with a sense of the immutability of the decrees of Fate. It is at the same time the destruction of a semblance and the revelation of a truth, a demonic interplay of the Eleatic contraries of seeming (*δοκέειν*) and being (*εἶναι*).⁶⁷ The glory of Oedipus the king, father, and savior of his people as shown in the opening scene is revealed as a brittle appearance built on illusion. As it crumbles, truth celebrates its sombre triumph. In Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, the king of Argos would prefer the ignorance of impending evils to a painful foresight.⁶⁸ This is only a faint anticipation of the Gorgonean face of truth in *Oedipus Rex*. "Was there ever a man who from happiness snatched more than its semblance, and who, having seemed happy, did not decline?"⁶⁹ To bring home to us the significance of the progress from illusion to a dire knowledge, the poet indulges in a meaningful play with the analogy of the

⁶⁷ Traces of this polarity in Aeschylus: cf. *Septem* 592, *Ag.* 787, 840; *Choeph.* 1053-1054; cf. also Plato, *Rep.* 361b.

⁶⁸ 450-1.

⁶⁹ *Oed. Rex*, 1189.

physical and the mental light. When the blind seer Tiresias invokes "the strength of truth," Oedipus scornfully retorts that there is truth but Tiresias has no share in it: "You are blind, ears, mind, and eyes."⁷⁰ But Oedipus is the one who "sees and sees not,"⁷¹ and when he finally learns how to see, he has to become physically blind, a "scion of night" like Tiresias.⁷²

The symbolism which parallels and contrasts the inward and the physical light, used here and elsewhere by Sophocles as also by Aeschylus, Pindar, Parmenides, Empedocles, Epicharmus, and Gorgias,⁷³ points forward to Plato's metaphysics of light and to his ideas of the "vision" and "eye" of the soul.⁷⁴ The light visualized by the Platonic philosopher—a light which dispels the phantasmagoria of an undeserved suffering—is the strict counterpart to the tragic enlightenment which makes us plumb unspeakable depths of sorrow. If the tragic chorus in unison with Pindar and the lyric poets sings of happiness as shortlived and deceitful, Plato will counter with the assertion that their alleged happiness is fleeting and illusory indeed, because devoid of truth. To him the outcry of the tormented creature voiced in the tragic *threnos* will be an "idle moan,"⁷⁵ bewailing the passing away of the unreal. In the *Phaedo*, the Platonic anti-tragedy, the wailing Xanthippe is removed on the spot, and Socrates rebukes his moaning friends. The fortitude of the true hero consists in the knowledge and discrimination of the things to be feared and those not to be feared.⁷⁶ The things fearful in tragedy are divested of their fearfulness by philosophical insight. Proclus faithfully renders Plato's view when he asserts that "neither disease nor poverty nor any other such thing is really

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 371. ⁷¹ *Ibid.* 413.

⁷² *Ibid.* 374. Cf. *Ajax*, 394: σκότος, ἐμὸν φῶς. For the above interpretation I am indebted to Karl Reinhardt, *Sophokles*, Frankfurt a. M., 1933, pp. 106-146. See also W. B. Stanford, *Ambiguity in Greek Literature*, Oxford, 1939, pp. 165-166.

⁷³ Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 854; Pindar, *Nem.* 7. 23; Parmenides, fr. 2; Empedocles, fr. 17; Epicharmus, fr. 12; Gorgias, fr. 11, §13 (the citations refer to Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1934-1937). Cf. Paul Friedländer, *Platon: Eidos, Paideia, Dialogos*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1928, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁴ *Rep.* 519b, 533d; *Symp.* 219a; *Phaedrus*, 212a.

⁷⁵ Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1762, quoted by Plato, *Tim.* 47b.

⁷⁶ *Laches* 196d, *Protag.* 360d.

an evil, but only wickedness of the soul, intemperance, cowardice, and vice in general; and we are responsible for bringing these upon ourselves."⁷⁷ The startling negation of the tragic potentiality in life may have appeared to his contemporaries as the distinguishing feature of Plato's philosophy. This is to be gleaned from Aristotle's memorial verses on the deceased master which celebrate him as the one who "sole or first among mortals revealed it clear to sight, by his own life and by the investigations of his discourses, that man becomes happy if he becomes good. But now it is not possible for anyone to attain this."⁷⁸

In tragedy, suffering and fear are relieved by their poetical expression. The tragic dread looms large in all the extant plays. The poets take advantage of a craving in human nature blandly confessed by the Oceanids in *Prometheus Bound*. They eagerly wish to "share the pleasure" of hearing Io relate her "dolorous fortunes."⁷⁹ When the Athenian listened to a tragic performance he was indulging in the same type of pleasure. He was made to feel that the compassion and terror filling his own mind were one with the sympathetic vibration of the whole world. Thus an outlet was afforded for his own oppressive fears. The universality of terror and pity brings about that pleasurable unburdening of the soul which Aristotle described as catharsis.

Although Plato denied the factual basis of the tragic fear and rejected the artistic cure provided by the poets, he did not under-rate the ascendancy over the human mind of this fear and of the ideas with which it was associated. Convinced as he was that intelligence (*νοῦς*) is shared "only by the gods and a small number of men,"⁸⁰ he could not rest content with a theoretical refutation of the tragic notion of evil. As a political thinker he had to contrive a remedy to supersede the tragic catharsis. This political or educa-

⁷⁷ *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, ed. E. Diehl, Leipzig, 1903-1906, III 313, 18-21.

⁷⁸ The above rendering is taken from Werner Jaeger, 'Aristotle's Verses in Praise of Plato', *Classical Quarterly*, XXI (1927), 13-17. What Aristotle rightly deemed impossible of attainment was attempted again by the Stoics. They thereby exposed themselves to the scornful criticism levelled against their illusory happiness by St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* XIX 4, ed. A. Kalb, Leipzig, 1929, II 359-362).

⁷⁹ 731.

⁸⁰ *Tim.* 51e.

tional trend in his philosophy shows him as a rival and, in a certain way, as a follower of the tragedians.

Tragic poetry implies a certain idea of human happiness and human misery. The sway of this idea over the human mind is due to its appeal to the emotions, that is, to pleasure and pain. The poet's idea of happiness will determine the nature of this emotional response on the part of the listeners. They will rejoice at the things enjoyable to the poet, pity what he thinks pitiable, sympathetically weep over what he considers doleful. So the poet arrogates to himself the guidance of the public mind, directing it at his pleasure. He dabbles in what Plato regards as the chief concern of the philosophical legislator. In the dialogue intended to present 'the truest tragedy' we read: "Any speculation about laws turns almost entirely on pleasure and pain, both in states and in private characters: these are two fountains which nature lets flow, and he who draws from them where and when and as much as he ought, is happy; . . . and he who indulges in them ignorantly and in excess, is the reverse of happy."⁸¹ Pleasure and pain are the first perceptions of children and the forms "under which virtue and vice are originally present to them."⁸² Education, therefore, is a "training in respect of pleasure and pain, which leads you always to hate what you ought to hate, and love what you ought to love."⁸³ The goal and consummation of this process is the art of correctly measuring pleasure and pain, an art which results from our partaking of truth.⁸⁴ But the attainment of such knowledge is a privilege of few, and even they arrive at it only late in life. So man on the whole may be viewed as a "puppet of the gods," pulled back and forth, right and left by the iron strings of his desires and fears.⁸⁵ Added to this is a golden wire, the principle of law and reason. How can we aid the soft metal so that it prevails over the strong and hard?

There is only one way to solve this problem. We must see to it that the iron wires pull in the same direction as the golden one; in non-metaphorical language, we must supply pleasures which, though unreasoned in themselves, are in accord with reason. The

⁸¹ *Laws*, 636de; this and the following quotations from the *Laws* are given in Jowett's translation, in a few cases with slight modifications.

⁸² *Ibid.* 653a. ⁸³ *Ibid.* 653bc. ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 804b. ⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 644d.

business of imparting rational order to the soul in a non-rational fashion, through the channels of the senses and emotions, belongs to an activity which, in Plato's view, should be the hub of political life. This activity, described in modern terms, is a union of religious rite and art; and viewed as art it combines poetry, music, dance, and perhaps also the mimetic art. It is divided into three performances: sacrificing, singing, and dancing. All three direct the soul toward the divine source of perfection. But the contact thus established is not that immediate and creative participation in the supreme Reality which is a prerogative of the philosophical vision alone. Those holy artistic exercises are not fulfilment but preparation or rather education (*παιδεία*), a constraining and directing of the juvenile mind toward reason as affirmed by law. The soul, delicately susceptible to the impress of harmony and rhythm, is thus habituated to rejoice and sorrow at the same things which, later in life, rational insight may reveal to it as truly joyful or sorrowful.⁸⁶ "Incantations" (*ἐπωδαί*) are needed to coax the mind into that happy condition which it is not yet able to bring about by a free act of reasonable choice.

An ambiguity lurks behind the Platonic conceptions of education, and Plato points to it by a pun on the words *παιδεία-παιδιά*. Considering the small number of those who ever attain rational insight, the preparatory training, for the majority of the citizens, turns into an end in itself, a 'consummatory' occupation. Education (*παιδεία*) becomes play (*παιδιά*). It is doubtful whether man has been designed by the gods for "some serious purpose" (and this means, for philosophy) or rather as their plaything (*παίγνιον*).⁸⁷ There is, Plato insists, no contempt in this expression. To be the plaything of the gods is, truly considered, the best of man. It is incumbent on the lawgiver to make the movements of the human puppets fall into the pattern that reason prescribes, thus setting up a show worthy of the divine master of the play.⁸⁸ This reverses the current opinion about play and earnest. Dancing and singing are revealed not as a pastime, a pleasurable pausing from the serious business of life, but rather as the only thing to be performed in full earnest, the flowering and consummation of life. Plato condemns the conven-

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 659de.⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 644d.⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 803c.

tional forms of the imitative arts only to put a sacred art into the core of the ideal state.⁸⁹

The notion of man as a plaything of the gods is not entirely new in the history of the Greek mind. We recall Theognis who contrasts the vanity of human planning and striving and the power of the gods "achieving everything after their own mind."⁹⁰ But nowhere are men so clearly shown to be pawns in the hands of demonic players as in tragedy. Until it degenerated into a stage trick, tragic irony gave a dramatic expression to this idea. Clytemnestra offering her criminal prayer to Apollo at the very moment when the avenger of Agamemnon, sent by Apollo, prepares her death; or the exultation of the chorus at the softening of the mind of its lord Ajax, while he in reality is firmly bent on dying—such are the inane movements of the human puppet agitated by hope and fear and performing its part in ignorance of the plot, of its outcome as well as of its meaning. The *Oedipus Rex* is wholly pervaded by this ironic game. It begins far back, with the attempt to circumvent the oracle which foretold Oedipus' destiny. The circumvention turns into an instrument of fulfilment. Then the lurid light of this irony plays on every step taken by Oedipus, yea, on his very existence. The man who solved the riddle of the Sphinx—the riddle of the nature of man—is ignorant of himself. He curses him who polluted the land by an unholy deed, and unwittingly curses himself. He derides the seer's blindness, and unknowingly mocks at his own future self. The more he struggles to escape the meshes of suspicion, the tighter the entanglement closes down upon him, till Iocasta's desperate attempt to hide the truth finally reveals it. However, for both the tragedian and Plato the idea of the puppet is not a last word in matters of human nature. The tragic hero as well as the Platonic philosopher may rise above the push and pull of uncontrollable forces. But Plato thinks the show of human helplessness should not be exposed to the sympathetic shudder of the multitude—a spectacle devoid of reality. Instead, the statesman and philosopher should try to gather up the loose ends of the variegated

⁸⁹ Cf. G. M. Sargeaunt, "Man as God's Playfellow," *Hibbert Journal*, XXI (1922-1923), 669-679.

⁹⁰ Elegeion A, 133-142, *Anthologia Lyrica*, ed. Diehl, Leipzig, 1925, I 123.

wires, to bring them into line with the one golden cord, and to make the marionette perform such motions as befit the actor in a divine spectacle.

We all strive after pleasure and shrink from pain, and whenever we have to choose, we infallibly prefer the life that promises the greatest excess of pleasure over pain.⁹¹ But pleasure and pain, unguided by true opinion or reason, are "foolish counsellors."⁹² Debauched by the ideas of the many about good and evil, man will come to conceive of the just and the pleasant life as alternatives, as if in choosing the one he had to abandon the other. Thus he falls into the worst kind of ignorance: he will hate that which nevertheless he thinks to be good and noble.⁹³ It is the duty of the legislator to inculcate the basic truth that the just life is one with the pleasantest life. This is the device which enables him to operate the iron wires in conformity with the tug of the golden thread. The opposite view, divorcing pleasure from justice, is termed "the most disgraceful of notions" (*αἰσχιστος λόγων*),⁹⁴ and the ruler will inflict "the heaviest penalties on anyone in all the land who should dare to say that there are bad men who lead pleasant lives, or that the profitable and gainful is one thing, and the just another."⁹⁵

These are appalling statements, even if we take into account that they are designed to apply to life in an ideal community rather than to human existence at large. Tragedy seems to be much closer to life such as we believe we know it. Although far from exhibiting the triumph of evil, the tragedian uses the disproportion between suffering and guilt as a mainspring of the tragic emotion and thereby brings upon himself Plato's violent rebuttal. At the same time, the clash of views reveals an identity of the point of departure. Plato, in this context, views the human being not as a potential philosopher but as a sensorium exposed to the impact of powerful emotions, as the theatre-goer on whose sensibility the poet plays. Man, in this condition, may well be likened to a marionette, placed as he is at the mercy of the one who knows how to elicit the desired emotional response. This is the frame of mind, the normal condition of the average citizen, and even more so the status of the

⁹¹ *Laws*, 733ab.

⁹² *Ibid.* 644c.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 689a.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 663b.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 662a.

young and inexperienced soul, of which the statesman must take advantage. Now he must try his hand and mould the plastic mind. He knows that the truth which he desires to impress on the malleable stuff sounds harsh and that it seems to be contradicted by common experience. But as there is no other salvation either for the state or for the individual, he will spare no pain in performing the work of persuasion. By music and verse he will cast a spell on the impressionable mind, he will invent new myths giving color and vivacity to his point, he will compel the poets to depict the misery of the unjust, even though he possess riches passing those of Cinyras or Midas;⁹⁶ he will use all his efforts to make the whole community, regarding this master belief, "utter one and the same word in their songs and tales and discourses all their life long."⁹⁷ Even if all this were not so, if no such perfect harmony of happiness and merit did actually exist, he still would have to maintain his proposition as the most salutary lie—a lie that makes the citizens "do what is right, not on compulsion but voluntarily."⁹⁸

If we ask where we shall find the poets willing to sing such lawful songs, Plato, with unambiguous words, points to his own literary art. We are not in want of a pattern, the Athenian says, "for when I consider the words which we have spoken from early dawn until now, . . . they appear to me quite like a poem."⁹⁹ But the sweet voice of reason is monotonous. Socrates, teased by the Sophists on the score of his incessantly talking "about the same things," wittily replied: "Not only about the same, but the same about the same."¹⁰⁰ Likewise the stars, visible gods travelling imperturbably through their orbits, are so created by the Demiurge as to think eternally "the same about the same."¹⁰¹ As, however, it may be wearisome to sing always "the same about the same," every sort of change and variation will be employed to take away the effect of sameness, so that the singers will take pleasure in their hymns and that "every man and boy, slave and free, both sexes and the whole city will never cease charming themselves with the strains of which we have spoken."¹⁰² And the gist of all songs and tales shall be "that the life which is by the gods deemed to be the happiest is the

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 660e.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 664a.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 663de.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 811cd.

¹⁰⁰ *Gorgias*, 490e; Xenophon, *Mem.* IV 4.6.

¹⁰¹ *Tim.* 40ab.

¹⁰² *Laws*, 665c.

best (ἀριστος).” The meaning of Plato’s claim to present ‘the truest tragedy’ becomes clear when read in the light of these assertions. The author to whose mind any kind of authorship is at best a noble play¹⁰³ invites us to read his own works as poetry, though of a peculiar kind. Following his advice, we shall find this poetry devoted chiefly to celebrating the identity of goodness and happiness.

Plato’s novel poetry is the fruit neither of a natural talent nor of an unaccountable demonic visitation.¹⁰⁴ It has its roots in knowledge. As knowledge concerning polar structures always encompasses the two opposite poles or contraries, the true tragedy is at the same time the true comedy. It presents with equal power both the characters better and those “worse than the average,”¹⁰⁵ Socrates as well as his sophistic adversaries. Again, as there is “one form of virtue, but innumerable forms of vice,”¹⁰⁶ we discover among the Platonic actors only one who measures up to the stature of the tragic hero, but a motley crowd of mock-heroes and fools.

Eros is both the true poet and the source of poetry in others, Agathon asserts in the *Symposium*.¹⁰⁷ Agathon, of course, thinks of his own tragedies and of those of his illustrious masters. In his ignorance of the genuine Eros he utters a truth which he does not fully comprehend. Accepting his view of poetry (as we are naturally prone to do), we shall puzzle in vain over the unanswerable question whether or not Plato condemned poetry. The fact is that Plato did not recognize poetry as an *eidos* or essence. The tangible basis of his discussion is the art of “putting together words,”¹⁰⁸ no matter whether prose or verse, whether the artist is styled orator, or legislator, or poet, or what not. That which matters alone is whether the words are “genuine children” generated in the contact of the soul with the Ideas of the just, fair, and good. Then, whatever form of expression he chooses, the author deserves the title of a *philosophos*, a “lover of wisdom.”¹⁰⁹

Fear (φόβος), the predominant feeling in tragedy, receives its due honors also in Plato’s rival creation. For the Athenian in the *Laws*,

¹⁰³ *Phaedrus*, 276d.

¹⁰⁴ *Apology*, 22a-c.

¹⁰⁵ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a, 32-33.

¹⁰⁶ *Rep.* 445c.

¹⁰⁷ *Symp.* 196de.

¹⁰⁸ *Phaedrus*, 278c.

¹⁰⁹ *Phaedrus* 278d, *Symp.* 209cd; cf. W. C. Greene, “Plato’s View of Poetry,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXIX (1918), 1-75, especially p. 65.

the idea of teaching how to fear the right thing in the right fashion is the starting-point both for his criticism of the Spartan constitution and for the development of that new ideal constitution which grows out of a wise regulation of the drinking assemblies. But the fear to be cultivated in Plato's state is not the unreasoned terror at the working of a fatal necessity which, paradoxically, is assumed to annihilate and to lift up at one stroke; and the associate of fear, pity, seems to be banished altogether.¹¹⁰ Dionysus, the patron of tragedy, is invoked for a reformed service which breeds "that divine fear which we have called reverence and shame."¹¹¹ Henry Thoreau once said about Aeschylus and the other Greek poets: "They ought not to have moved trees, but to have chanted to the gods such a hymn as would have sung all their old ideas out of their heads, and new ones in."¹¹² A hymn of this kind was intoned by Plato.

The causal nexus between tragedy and Platonic philosophy is largely but not solely a relation of thesis and antithesis. So far, our argument has one-sidedly stressed the antithetical element. To redress the balance we shall first point out a trend in tragic poetry which brings it close to the Platonic scheme of thought, so close that we may speak of a self-transcendence of tragic poetry in the direction of philosophy (iv—*The Tragic Theodicy*). In the second place I shall try to show that Plato took the tragic complication as a potentiality of human life much more seriously than it may have appeared from our examination of the *Laws* (v—*The Philosophical Drama*).

iv—*The Tragic Theodicy*

Among the tragic notions repudiated by Plato, two central conceptions stand out: the idea of Fate, and that of the envy or jealousy (*φθόρος*) of the gods. The first of the two, if conceived as an irrational power to which even the gods must bow, obviously runs counter to the spirit of Plato's thought. Only in so far as Fate involved the idea of expiation could it be domesticated by the

¹¹⁰ *Laws*, 936b.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 671d; on *φθόρος*, 699c, 649c, 644cd, 701ab; on Dionysus, 672a.

¹¹² Quoted from Emerson, "Thoreau," *The Complete Essays*, ed. by B. Atkinson, New York, 1940, p. 908.

philosopher and incorporated in the penal regulations of the *Laws*. The tale of "retributions of Heaven" related by the priests of old—we may think of the accursed house of the Atreidae—shall be retold to deter anyone who by "some fatality" (ἀθλία συμφορά) should feel tempted to lay hands upon his father, or mother, or brethren, or children.¹¹³ Furthermore, Fate may be allied with Nemesis and then give effect to that universal law according to which any disturbance of the 'balance of powers' in the universe has to be compensated for by a counteraction. Thus the idea of fate links up with one of the great principles of Ionian cosmology from Anaximander on, and with the fundamental notion of nearly all Greek medicine; and the same idea of the disturbance and recovery of an equilibrium recurs in Plato, especially in his theory of the diseases of the body.¹¹⁴

There are traces of the 'divine jealousy' in tragedy. We recall Aeschylus' Agamemnon putting off his sandals before he steps on the purple cloth, "lest some far-off god cast on me envious eyes,"¹¹⁵ or the invocation of the god Phthonos in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.¹¹⁶ To an advanced religious consciousness the notion is outrageous, and Plato, of course, has no use for it. The Demiurge in the *Ti-maeus*, it is true, takes special precautions to secure the difference between god and man.¹¹⁷ But the laconic statement about the nature of the "father of all things" is an express negation of the ancient belief. "Being without jealousy," the universal father desired that "all things should come as near as possible to being like himself."¹¹⁸ "Envy is banished from the divine chorus," we read in the *Phaedrus*.¹¹⁹ However, the crude notion of a rivalry between divine and mortal beings is not endorsed by the tragedians either. Aeschylus, "with a lone voice," denies the belief that prosperity necessarily breeds disaster.¹²⁰ It is rather Nemesis, the idea mediating between the uncouth conception of envious demons and the sublime one of an omnipotent Justice, upon which Aeschylus' moral world hinges.¹²¹ The fatal curse, attaching to an individual

¹¹³ *Laws*, 872e-873a.

¹¹⁴ *Tim.* 82a.

¹¹⁵ *Ag.* 946, tr. Thomson.

¹¹⁶ *Philoct.* 776.

¹¹⁷ *Tim.* 41c.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 29e.

¹¹⁹ 247a. In the same vein Aristotle writes: "The Divine cannot be jealous, but, as the proverb goes, 'poets tell many a lie'" (*Met.* 983a, 2-4).

¹²⁰ *Ag.* 750-771.

¹²¹ E. Tournier, *Némésis et la Jalousie des Dieux*, Paris, 1863, pp. 62-73.

or to a whole house, is brought down on man by his own high-handed deeds and his overweening pride. "The gods thoroughly hate insolence,"¹²² and their jealousy intervenes as an executive power in the service of the universal order. "The state of prosperity (*κόρος*) is apt to produce insolence (*ὑβρις*) and impiety (*δυσσέβεια*), and the man who gives way to these temptations is seized with the infatuation (*ἄτη*) which will lead to his doom."¹²³ There is still the god-given infatuation—an idea distasteful to Plato. But the pattern of thought as a whole distinctly tends toward a conception of the world as presided over by the divinely good. A play composed in strict adherence to this pattern (the nearest approach is the *Persae*) would, by Aristotelian standards, fall short of the requirements of a good tragic plot. As the final catastrophe would be presented as a just punishment, it would fail to arouse the tragic pity. But this deficiency might recommend it for admission to the Platonic state.

Aeschylus' thought advances still further in the direction of Plato. It seems to be the idea of the Aeschylean trilogy to start in a world torn asunder by a conflict irreducible to moral terms; but then to rise to a vision which reconciles the course of events to the moral demands. For our yearning after a just and meaningful order of the world the *Prometheus Bound*, if taken by itself, is perturbing or even revolting. The poet's sympathy is all with the sufferer. Even his enemy Zeus is indebted to him. He has saved the life of mankind, he has made this life truly human by his gifts, and he did all this at his own peril. Zeus, on the other hand, appears cruel, irascible, and vindictive. His actions are largely prompted by an irritable concern for the safety of his throne. Yet Zeus is the lord of justice watching over the "attunement of things" (*Διὸς ἀρμονία*);¹²⁴ and Prometheus' guilt is disputed by not even himself or the sympathetic mermaids. This is not only an extreme case of the 'moral disproportion.' The notion of guilt itself takes on that enigmatic tinge which encouraged the speculation about a 'guiltless guilt' cherished in the camp of modern idealistic expositors.

¹²² *Suppl.* 80.

¹²³ Cyril Bailey, "Fate, Men and Gods," *Class. Assoc. Proc.* XXXII (1935), 13; K. F. Nägelsbach, *Die nachhomerische Theologie des griechischen Volksglaubens*, Nürnberg, 1857, pp. 46-94.

¹²⁴ 550-551.

Aeschylus did not live at peace with his antinomies but strove after a solution acceptable to reason. In the *Prometheia*, as in the *Oresteia*, he is concerned with the succession of divine dynasties, each representing a stage of the universal evolution.¹²⁵ The young king has to maintain his rule both against the old king and his clan and against a possible usurper. In the *Oresteia* the ancient gods are the Eumenides, in the *Prometheia* Cronos and his Titans. Prometheus, himself a Titan, belongs by birth to the doomed world of ancient lawlessness. But if the outline of the trilogy as conjectured by the learned restorers is accurately drawn, the Zeus who releases and reconciles Prometheus in the *Solutus* is not the Zeus of the *Vinctus*. The interval of 30,000 years has matured him. Made wise by affliction, he has learned moderation and compassion. And Prometheus, in his turn, has learned how to accept the law above him. His suffering was not in vain either. Thus both the dramatic and the logical tensions were finally solved. If the complete trilogy had come down to us, we might have witnessed the growth of the supreme god. Before our eyes Zeus might have risen from his tragic errors and entanglements to the height of the "benign father" of the *Timaeus*, or of the king of the Reign of Law of whom are said the words in the *Critias*: Θεὸς δὲ ὁ θεῶν Ζεὺς ἐν νόμοις βασιλεύων.¹²⁶

We shall have to return once more to the problems of the *Prometheus Bound*. For our present purpose the tentative and hypothetical interpretation of the *Prometheia* merely serves to adumbrate ideas clearly exhibited in the *Oresteia*. The parallelism between this masterpiece of the ancient tragic art and Plato's unfinished triptych of which the *Timaeus* was to form a side-piece has been pointed out by Professor Cornford. The central part of his argument will be given in his own words.¹²⁷

The first two parts of Aeschylus' trilogy, *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroe*, develop in a world disrupted by irreconcilable conflicts. The Zeus wistfully invoked by the chorus—the king of supreme power, wisdom, and

¹²⁵ A. O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1935, pp. 200–203. ¹²⁶ *Critias*, 121b.

¹²⁷ F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, London, 1937, "Epilogue," pp. 361–364. I am greatly indebted to Professor Cornford for permitting me to reproduce his words instead of putting off the reader with a paraphrase.

justice—seems a remote vision shedding no light on the entanglements of human destiny. Agamemnon, bowing his head beneath 'the yoke of necessity,' started a disastrous train—the sacrifice of his daughter, Clytemnestra's revenge, Orestes' sanctioned murder of the murderess. The son, no less than the mother, could claim to be doing the work of Justice; but if justice means revenge, where is this chain of dutiful crimes to end?

The answer is given in the *Eumenides*. Orestes, purified of guilt by Apollo himself, can yet find no peace in his soul. He is haunted and pursued by the Furies, hounded on by his mother's ghost, demanding blood for blood. The issue is brought to trial on the Hill of Ares, under the presidency of Athena, impersonating the wisdom of Zeus. Apollo comes to champion the cause of Orestes. He confronts the Furies with loathing and contempt. Neither party can yield an inch of its claim. Nor can human justice reach a decision: the votes are equal. Both sides are in the right, though both may also be in the wrong. Athena now gives her casting vote for acquittal. Apollo vanishes; he has no more to say. The human protagonist, Orestes, is dismissed. The stage is left to the unappeased and furious spirits of vengeance, daughters of the Night or of the Earth Mother, and, on the other side, Athena, the motherless child of the Father. Divine Reason is face to face with Necessity.

In wild confusion and desperate anger, the Furies threaten to blast the soil of Athens and poison the very springs of life. Athena turns to them and her first words are 'Be persuaded by me!' She offers them a sanctuary and worship in a cave under the Hill of Justice, where they may be transformed into powers of fertility and blessing. At first they cannot listen, but go on crying out for justice and revenge. Athena patiently repeats her offer. She reminds them that she alone knows the keys of that chamber where the thunderbolt is stored; 'but there is no need of that.' Violence will not remedy a situation that violence has created. Suddenly the Furies are converted, when Athena addresses their leader as follows: 'I will not weary of speaking good words. Never shall you say that you, the elder goddess, were cast out of this land by me, the younger, and by my mortal citizens, with dishonor. No; if you have any reverence for unstained Persuasion, the appeasement and soothing charm of my tongue—why then, stay here.' To this persuasion the daughters of Necessity yield at last. The play ends with the song in which they promise fertility to the soil and citizens of Athena's land, and with the cry of triumph: 'So Zeus and Destiny are reconciled.'¹²⁸

Herewith we compare the outlines of Plato's trilogy *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Hermocrates*, as they can be surmised on the basis of the

¹²⁸ Cornford, *op. cit.* 362–363.

executed parts.¹²⁹ The conversation in the *Timaeus* takes place on the occasion of the festival of Athena, and the subject broached in the introduction—the story of pre-historic Athens and its interne-cine warfare against Atlantis—is considered especially appropriate for that day. As Professor Cornford remarks, the formal speeches delivered at the Panathenaea “regularly recalled the leadership of Athens in the victory of Hellas over the barbarian invaders in the Persian wars.”¹³⁰ On the previous day, Socrates has presented his notion of the ideal city. He now hopes to watch this city in motion, “putting forth her strength in such contests as a city will engage in against others.”¹³¹ Critias offers to meet Socrates’ request by telling a myth about ancient Athens and Atlantis, thus transferring Socrates’ ideal state and its citizens “from the region of theory to concrete fact.”¹³² But first a cosmic frame has to be set up for the historical drama, and this is done in the *Timaeus*.

The *Timaeus*, planned as the first dialogue of a trilogy, is itself composed after a triadic scheme. First the works of Reason are revealed,¹³³ then all that which has come about by Necessity,¹³⁴ and finally the cooperation of Reason and Necessity.¹³⁵ The Necessity as impersonated by Aeschylus’ demons of vengeance contained the germs of justice, but it was unable to achieve a just order of society. Similarly Plato’s Necessity, left to itself, is not wholly destitute of organization, and it even approximates to a differentiation according to elements.¹³⁶ But in order that a cosmos could arise out of the purposeless play of unbalanced qualities, Necessity had to yield to the persuasion of Reason.¹³⁷ Like the human and natural cosmos in the *Eumenides*, so the orderly universe in the *Timaeus* results from the victory of reasonable persuasion over necessity. The story of Atlantis, the central part of Plato’s trilogy, would have furnished another symbol of the struggle of Athena and Poseidon, or Zeus and Fate, order and primordial chaos, justice and lawless desires. Earthquakes and flood overwhelmed the fighters. Finally the

¹²⁹ Cf. Gilbert Murray’s remarks on the mythological background of the triadic scheme in *Aeschylus, the Creator of Tragedy*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 84–87.

¹³⁰ Cornford, *op. cit.* 361.

¹³¹ *Tim.* 19c, tr. Cornford.

¹³² *Ibid.* 26cd.

¹³³ *Ibid.* 29c–47e.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 47e–69a.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 69a–92c.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 52d–53d.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 47e–48a.

Hermocrates, if it had ever been executed, might have celebrated the rebirth of civilized life, safely founded on the principle that sustains the universe. "Zeus and Fate are reconciled." The dread, reminiscent of the primordial night, is preserved. Athena, in the *Eumenides*, bids her people "not to banish terror utterly" (καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πάντες πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν).¹³⁸ The foundation of the Areopagus, the dispenser of beneficial terror, marked for Aeschylus Athens' rise to a civilized existence. For Plato, the beginning of Athens' downfall dated from the overthrow of the Areopagus (461 B.C.). In the *Laws* (the dialogue which presumably has taken the place of the unwritten *Hermocrates*¹³⁹), he is eager to have the 'divine fear' cultivated among the citizens. It is true that the tragic conflict originates and develops in 'metaphysical darkness.' But it rises, in Aeschylus' trilogy, to a clarity and harmony which do away with the presuppositions of the original conflict. The new order emerging in the *Eumenides* admits a tragic antagonism as little as Plato's cosmos does.

It is one thing to arrive at the reconciliation of Justice and Fate after a painful struggle—a result which is convincing only as result, that is, seen in conjunction with the suffering by which the reconciling wisdom must be earned—and another thing to conceive of the cosmic antagonism throughout in terms of a dialectical synthesis. A passage in the *Laws* concerning the universal strife may show how close the poet and the philosopher are to one another, but, at the same time, that their positions are still clearly distinct. There is, we read, "an immortal conflict going on among us, which requires marvellous watchfulness; and in that conflict the gods and demigods are our allies and we are their property. Injustice and insolence and folly are the destruction of us, and justice and wisdom and temperance are the salvation of us; and the place of these latter is in the life of the gods, and of their virtue some vestige may occasionally be discerned among mankind."¹⁴⁰ In Aeschylus we observe the gradual absorption of both the anthropomorphic gods and the demoniacal Fate into a just and divine order of things as a proc-

¹³⁸ 698; cf. 516-517.

¹³⁹ Cornford, *op. cit.* 8; *Laws* 698b. Cf. C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 82-83.

¹⁴⁰ *Laws*, 906ab.

ess.¹⁴¹ For Plato this process is brought to a close, and the stage is cleared for a play with fresh antagonists. Plato begins where Aeschylus left off.

¹⁴¹ That this idea, at least as a postulate, was familiar to Sophocles also, is proved by a fragment from his *Aletes*: "Strange, that impious men, sprung from wicked parents, should prosper, while good men of generous breed should be unfortunate! It is not right that heaven should deal so with men. The gods should manifestly reward the pious, and the unrighteous should suffer some manifest punishment for their wickedness. Then the wicked man would not flourish." Frag. 107, tr. F. M. Cornford.

A KYLIX IN THE FOGG ART MUSEUM

A STUDY OF THE USE OF DESIGN IN THE ATTRIBUTION OF GREEK VASES

BY BENITA DAVENPORT HOLLAND

THERE is in the Fogg Art Museum an Athenian red-figured vase, number 501.1937, of the Ripe Archaic Style, which has not yet been assigned to any school or master (pl. I). It is a stemless kylix. The height is 3.35 centimeters and the diameter 13.8 centimeters. It was acquired in Athens.¹

Only the interior is decorated. Within a border of meanders and saltire squares, a youth, with his himation draped over his left shoulder, faces an amphora on his right. The right arm is extended toward the amphora as if ladling, with the hand partially concealed in the neck of the jar. In his other hand he holds a purse. On the youth's left stands a pithos with an oinochoë above it.

All the contours, except the crown of the head, are outlined by contour lines and stripes. The outline of the hair is incised. Relief lines are used for the interior details. The anatomy is in part rendered by light brown markings; otherwise there is no added color. The black glaze is thin.

In order to give this cup an attribution, it is worthwhile to discuss first in detail one phase of Greek vase painting of which it is an excellent example: the phase of pictorial design.² In this way the final identification of the master will be facilitated.

Of all the areas on the Greek vase which it was possible to deco-

¹ The kylix is a permanent loan to the Fogg Art Museum from Dr. Jakob Rosenberg who has generously given me permission to publish it. I am indebted to Dean George H. Chase for giving me the opportunity to study the vase and for many kind suggestions, and to Dr. Sterling Dow and Dr. George M. A. Hanfmann for their helpful criticism and advice.

² Others who have considered the kylix from this point of view are: W. Kraiker, "Epiktetos, eine Studie zur archaischen attischen Malerei," *J.d.I.* XLIV (1929), 151-158; D. K. Hill, "Epiktetos and His Circular Designs," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, I (1938), 25-32; T. B. L. Webster, "Tondo Composition in Archaic and Classical Greek Art," *J.H.S.* LIX (1939), 103-123.

rate with pictorial design, that of the interior of the kylix presented one of the more serious problems, for the area to be filled was a circle. Man was the usual object to fill it. But since man in his normal posture is not circular, the Greek kylix painter was forced to invent a method by which he could adapt man to his circular setting and achieve a pleasing unity.

The achievement of unity was the essence of the vase painter's art. The ideal was the attainment of an integral whole by the organic harmony of the parts, with insistence on the essential and avoidance of the superfluous. In this way Greek classical art gained great vigor. In the field of pottery, not only was the vase modelled so that its shape formed an integral and pleasing effect in the careful balance of bowl and stem, but also the painted decoration on the surface was considered an important contribution to the final unity of the whole.

It was clear to the decorators of the red-figured vases of the Early Style that the greatest possible harmony of composition, that is, in arranging mass and line on the plane surface, could best be attained within the circular medallion by following the imaginary radii and concentric circles inscribed within the area (figs. 1a and b). Mass distributed proportionately on these lines made for greater symmetry. This is the reason for the many running warriors, maenads and silens in the early red-figured ware. Their arms and legs, shooting out in all directions like pinwheels, fit admirably into the circle.

The result of the effort to overcome the regularity of the inscribed circle was theoretically to substitute an equilateral polygon, since such a figure would be most similar to a circle (fig. 2a). The most practicable polygon was found to be the triangle, because man's height could express a long side, and either a second man or an inanimate object, such as a staff, another side, thus forming a scalene triangle (fig. 2b). The exergue served as the base line. But when the triangle was reversed, so that the short side was at the top, this was often omitted, leaving a V-shaped composition (fig. 2c). This is the scheme the Panaitios Painter used (pl. IV).³ A less

³ J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*, Tübingen, 1925, p. 169, no. 48.

usual variation of the polygon was the square often used by the Brygos Painter (fig. 3a). After the development of the open V, the next step, and the farthest removed from the lines of the circle,

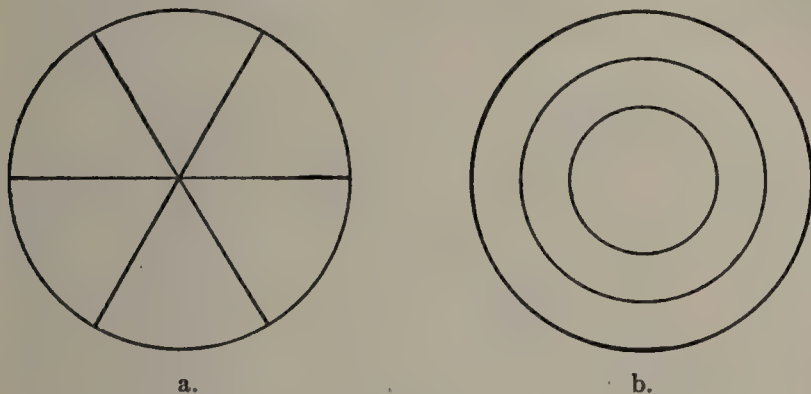


Figure 1

consisted of two parallel lines (fig. 3b). This is the least obvious method of filling a circle, and often, therefore, considered the least harmonious. Douris is most easily detected by the use of parallel lines.

In a similar fashion, to overcome the monotony of using the

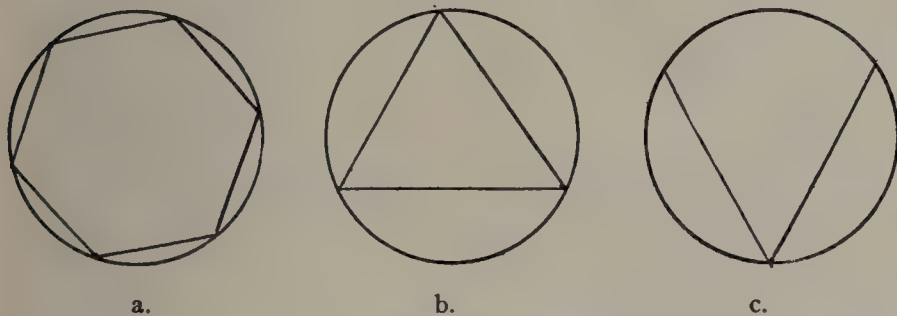


Figure 2

radii, the painter substituted chords (fig. 3c). Those chords which come nearest to crossing the central point of the medallion more clearly resemble the radii than those that cut the axis of the design at a greater distance. This is one reason why so many spears and staffs cross the medallion at the center and suggest the radii. The

chord which cuts the axis at right angles is the extreme variation of the radius (fig. 3d).

The composition on the interior of the Early-Style red-figured kylixes evolved in the following manner. In the beginning the vase painter realized the demands of the medallion only in the most

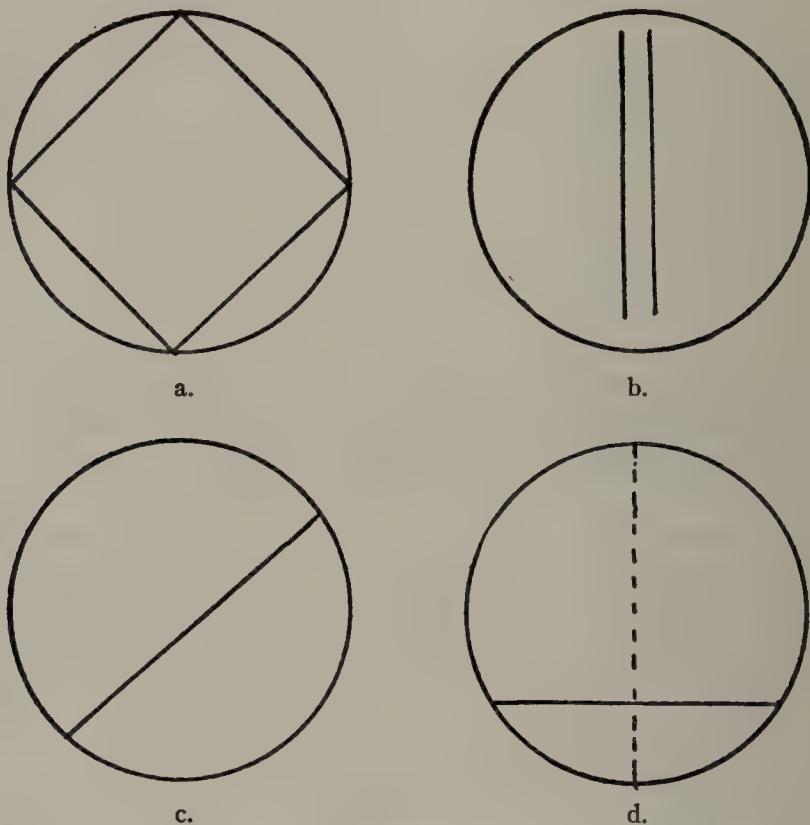


Figure 3

elementary terms. Next, when the scheme had become too stylized, he improvised new methods by which he could make man more true to life, yet not have the design evade the problems involved in the shape of the circle. It is of significance in the study of the history of design to show how the masters of the Early Style were close to one another in their interpretation of the circle, while the later masters expressed their own individual ideas of the possi-

bilities of the circle to fulfill the purpose. When this happened another tie was formed between master and pupil which is of value in the attribution of vases. It has the advantage over the idiosyncrasies of anatomical features and drapery that it is a broad distinction and can be perceived more readily in the recognition of a painter's style.

In the red-figured kylixes of the Early Style there are three commonly recognized positions for adapting a single human figure to the circle: the runner, the crouching or kneeling figure, and the stooping figure. In the first method the radiating lines of the circle are emphasized, in the latter two the curves of the inscribed circles.

Since these three methods were found to be the most suitable for fitting a figure to the medallion, certain subjects were better adapted to its decoration than others. From mythology, cult rites, and contemporary life the kylix painters drew their favorite types, the dancing silens, frenzied maenads, athletes, and Persian archers.

In a cup, Boston 95.32, signed by the potter Pamphaios and attributed to the hand of the 'London Sleep and Death Painter,'⁴ a running silen forms the pattern (pl. II). The two arms, continuing the shoulder line, make an inscribed arc parallel with the circumference. The tail and two legs form the radii, and are so spaced that the lower half of the circle is sufficiently filled, leaving no disturbing black areas. This is a noteworthy design because it illustrates the simplicity of treatment used by the early kylix decorator. The design is effective in its symmetry and forms a unit with the kylix as a whole.

In another cup, Boston 95.35, attributed to the hand of the 'London Sleep and Death Painter,'⁵ an athlete carrying halter and akontia runs to the right. There is less economy of detail here than in Boston 95.32, for not only do the halter and akontia add greater interest to an otherwise ordinary athlete, but they also accent more the radii of the circle.

Belonging to the second group is a cup showing an archer, Boston

⁴ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, 2. The vases cited in this paper have been drawn, so far as possible, from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and are reproduced here through its courtesy. ⁵ Beazley, *Red-figured Vases*, 24.

01.8074.⁶ The painter undoubtedly meant to represent a running figure, because the legs are widely spaced, resembling the rotating spokes of a wheel. But by bending the knees so far he has forced the archer into a crouching position. The curve of the back follows that of the border line; the round shield he holds in front accentuates the shape of the medallion and helps to fill out the area.

Boston 10.212, the medallion only of a missing kylix, is attributed to Epiktetos.⁷ A silen kneeling on one knee lifts a drinking horn to his lips. The lines of the stooping monster follow the curve of the border. His unoccupied arm is bent to balance himself and fills an otherwise empty space.

In these two examples the masters again are similar in composition. The only distinction each one may personally achieve is in the more skillful handling of the crouching figure.

It is in the third division of design motifs that the early vase painter is least successful. Here the figure is neither running erect nor kneeling; it is stooping. Unless the painter is very clever the form looks cramped, or seems to topple. The stooped man is usually performing some ordinary task, such as washing, in which it is natural to bend, as in Athens 1409,⁸ a cup signed by the potter Pamphaios. The design is more complex than that of the running and crouching figure, because it not only involves fitting a man convincingly to the curve of the circle, but also necessitates filling the empty area in front of him. The kylix painter felt that he must fill this space, and so put in the large wash-basin or jar. This is as far as he thought the problem out. His innate sense of symmetry was the first demand of composition to be realized, his sense of reality took longer to be convincingly expressed. Here, in this example, the painter had not devised a way to free the figure from these early imposed limits by letting it stand motionless and erect, and still not violate his idea of the requirements of the circle.

A more successful attempt to adapt the bending figure to the medallion is that of Phintias in a signed cup in Baltimore (pl. III).⁹

⁶ L. D. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Oxford, 1931, pl. III, no. 9. ⁷ Caskey, *Vase Paintings, Boston*, pl. III, no. 6.

⁸ CVA. *Athènes, Musée National*, fasc. I, III I c, pl. 3, no. 2.

⁹ The photograph is reproduced here by the courtesy of Professor David M. Robinson and the Archaeological Museum at John Hopkins University.

He gives greater freedom and character to the inner figure by a more extensive use of extraneous detail, which in the earlier examples had been so restricted. A young man in a potter's shop has drawn out his purse to purchase a vase. His bent position is strongly reminiscent of the stooped figure of Athens 1409. But Phintias has provided the youth with a staff so that he will not fall headlong. The staff forms a triangle with the straight folds of the youth's himation and the curve of his back. This is an innovation. Therefore not all the masters thought of the circle in terms of radii and circles, for now a triangular motif has been introduced. The vase painter was alert to see that it was a good composition, and not discordant with the shape of the medallion. From now on the progressive painters abandoned the view that a circle could only be satisfactorily filled with its regular divisions. They realized they could utilize other geometric forms to vary the possibilities of composition in the circle. Furthermore, the chair and the vases serve by their mass to fill the blank areas, and at the same time form an appropriate setting and frame for the youth. Hence Phintias, by the greater use of accessory paraphernalia to make his figure more natural, and by the innovation of triangular composition, becomes one of the pioneers in the movement toward greater sophistication in the pictorial designs of the interiors of kylixes.

The Ripe Archaic Style represents a period of great kylix painters. After the time of Euthymides, Phintias and Euphronios, who made both large and small vases, the craft split up into several groups, mainly that of the painters of large vases, which included the Kleophrades Painter, the Berlin Painter and Hermonax, and that of the painters of kylixes, with the Panaitios Painter, the Brygos Painter, Makron and Douris. Specialization was introduced for greater expediency of manufacture and because differently shaped vases brought different problems of decoration, which were now becoming individual matters. The drawing of the figures on the different shapes does not vary, but the composition does, depending on the shape of the area to be decorated. The natural result was that painters of each group influenced only each other, so that nowadays, when attributions of vases are made to masters, painters of one group may be confused, but only rarely are decorators of the two groups mixed with each other.

In this period of the Panaitios Painter, the Brygos Painter, Makron, and Douris, the possibilities for greater freedom become manifest. All these painters are individuals, each eager to try his own method of design. Some are more inventive than others, but all are striving in common to give the figures a wider field of action and make them more true to life. In order to do this they modified the traditional laws of composition and utilized to a greater extent the alternative devices, the extraneous details, suggested in the preceding period. Whether these new devices compensate for the loss of the simplicity of basic circular design, or whether the figure gains his freedom at the expense of the composition, remains to be seen. Thus the Greek vase painter was being pulled in two directions while trying to achieve the single purpose of unity. He was bound by tradition to formal design as an aesthetic necessity, but it was also becoming of increasing importance to make his figures real. It is of interest to see how the different masters met this problem. If it is possible to show that there are individual modes of composition peculiar to each master of this period, it should prove a most convenient help in the attribution of our kylix.

The Panaitios Painter, one of Euphronios' assistants, has left three cups which are rather curious from the point of view of pattern. All three, Boston 98.876, 01.8021, and 01.8020, represent athletes in different attitudes. It is possible to see that all three are basically just a variation of the early running figure (pl. II). The Panaitios Painter, however, with the aid of the straight line in the form of a pick, spear or staff, has so experimented with the composition that the effect is quite different.

The first, Boston 98.876,¹⁰ is the old-fashioned running figure, modelled on the old lines, which fills the space well. But in addition to this the painter has added a straight line drawn diagonally from the upper left circumference to the lower center middle (fig. 4a). It certainly does not emphasize the radii of the circle, but rather suggests the left arm of a V, of which the axis of the athlete forms the right arm.

The second cup, Boston 01.8021,¹¹ has another athlete who faces

¹⁰ Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* 166, no. 11.

¹¹ P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stils*, Berlin, 1893, pl. XII; Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* 167, no. 25.



PLATE I. Kylix in the Fogg Art Museum. Interior



PLATE II. Running Silen. London Sleep and Death Painter



PLATE III. Youth in a Potter's Shop. Signed by Phintias as Painter



PLATE IV. Two Komasts. Panaitios Painter



PLATE V. Youth and Dancing Girl. Makron



PLATE VI. Discobolus. Douris



PLATE VII. Dionysos Holding a Kantharos. Douris

front holding a rope loosely at arms' length. His shoulders correspond to the circumference and fill the upper space in the normal manner. But the legs, no longer running and placed adjacent to each other, may have made the figure seem top-heavy to the Panaitios Painter, because the mass was not distributed proportionately over the lower half. To counteract the free pose of the athlete, he placed a pick-axe on a plane with the athlete's knees and parallel to the shoulders, to widen the lower area, and to produce a more balanced composition (fig. 4b). Evidently the Pa-

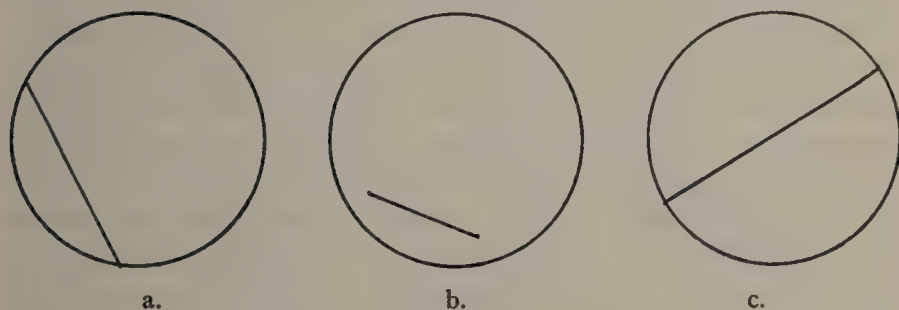


Figure 4

naitios Painter was not quite convinced that the triangle, suggested by the attitude of the youth, filled the circle sufficiently, and added the pick-axe, thus forming a square.

The third cup, Boston 01.8020,¹² has the least intelligible composition of all. An athlete is about to hurl the discus. It is strange not only in the foreshortened back view, but in the manner of filling the area. The left arm is spread in the usual manner, but the right arm is bent in a curve opposed to the circumference of the circle in order to throw the discus. The legs are again nearly adjacent to each other and do not fill the space. In order then to organize this non-traditional arrangement, the Panaitios Painter constructed a line from the upper right hand circumference, cutting the medallion approximately at the center, to the opposite side, virtually dividing the circle in half (fig. 4c). Perhaps he hoped to balance the composition by emphasis on the central axis, but was unsuccessful because the square body of the athlete is too top-heavy for the legs. The discus fills the space usually occupied by the outflung arm of

¹² Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* 168, no. 32.

the runner, and a pair of halteres tries to balance it on the opposite side. Thus in spite of all the attempts of the Panaitios Painter to compensate for the free pose of the discobolus, he was not successful in bringing order and harmony into this composition.

These three kylixes illustrate the experimental nature of the Panaitios Painter, who strives to make the freedom of pose of the figure harmonize with the medallion by means of the line and mass of the external objects. He obviously has broken away from the tradition of radii and inscribed circles.

A cup signed ἐποίησεν by Euphronios and again attributed to the hand of the Panaitios Painter is Boston 95.27 (pl. IV). It is probably a later work than the cups which have just been mentioned,¹³ for the scheme is more ordered and better thought out, but not conventional. Also it is noteworthy in that it has two figures; in the Early Style the single figure was more usual because it was better suited to the customary circular design. Here two komasts face each other. The one on the left, with his weight balanced on his back leg, plays a flute; the other leans on his staff in the opposite direction, and behind him hangs a flute case. The two komasts on this Panaitios cup thus form a V on the lever principle. The piping komast has thrown his weight to the left on his receding foot, and the leaning komast in the opposite direction. The two lines converge at the exergue. The pulling of two forces in opposite directions helps to round out the medallion. The Panaitios Painter has placed the flute case obliquely to give more emphasis to the direction of the leaning komast.

These four examples illustrate the fact that the Panaitios Painter, while attempting more individual figures and greater variation in pattern, was forced to use extraneous means by which he could achieve unity of composition. In the first three examples, the three athletes, he experiments with the device of the straight line. By varying its position and direction he tries to control the pattern so that the figure may be free. The last example is the most successful, possibly because the two figures lend themselves to a more varied

¹³ Beazley, in his list of the works of the Panaitios Painter, *Att. Vasenm.* 166-170, which is for the most part chronological, places this vase (p. 169, no. 48) after the other Boston kylixes cited above.

composition than one figure. But here again the straight line is used to advantage, although in a minor rôle. The Panaitios Painter's use of paraphernalia for setting and balance of mass is not so apparent in these examples as in the Phintias kylix with the boy in the potter's shop (pl. III). The Panaitios Painter uses paraphernalia for the purpose of direction of line, making use in all three of extraneous objects: first for mass, then for subject matter, and thirdly for direction of line.

A minor colleague of the Panaitios Painter in the workshop of Euphronios is Onesimos. He is less experimental and obscure in his technique of design. One very amusing cup by this painter, Boston 95.29,¹⁴ has a komast, who, holding a jug behind him in his right hand, has slipped. In order to keep from falling he has stretched out his left arm and planted his staff by his feet. This hand carries in addition to the staff a basket. Here then is another V composition on the lever principle, two opposing forces, that of the man and jug on one side, and staff and basket on the other. In this case the paraphernalia give liveliness and humor to the situation. They also fill the empty space and emphasize the round character of the circle.

Obviously the Panaitios Painter and Onesimos have much in common, even in these chance examples. Both of them used the V pattern on the lever principle. Both depended on the paraphernalia, especially for direction of line, but also for balance of mass and a more descriptive setting. When these examples are brought into comparison with the interior of the Troilos cup,¹⁵ which was also made in the shop of Euphronios, it becomes apparent that the V design is not a coincidence, but a characteristic pattern of the colleagues of Euphronios.

We will next consider the Brygos Painter. One of his characteristic designs is to be seen on an unsigned kylix, Boston 01.8038.¹⁶ It shows the Brygos Painter's preference for diagonal lines. An athlete, with raised left arm and a strigil in his right hand, is teach-

¹⁴ Beazley, *Att. Vases*, no. 15.

¹⁵ J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, Cambridge, Mass., 1919, I, 402. For attribution see E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1914, 170.

¹⁶ Caskey, *Vase Paintings*, Boston pl. X, no. 28.

ing a dog at his feet to jump. The axis of the athlete is diagonal to that of the medallion; the two crossed javelins grounded between him and the dog, and the arch of the dog's back, correspond in general direction. There is a chair on the left behind the athlete which may possibly be there to balance the mass of the dog, for it is quite superfluous so far as line or content is concerned. Whereas the composition of the school of Euphronios may be compared to the geometric figures of a triangle or V, that of the Brygos Painter in this example most nearly resembles a tipped square. Here the extended left arm of the athlete forms a right angle with the line made by the shoulders and the continuation of the arm holding the strigil, thus forming two sides of a square. The axis of the dog is the third side and the fourth is an imaginary line parallel to the stretched-out arm. The boy playing the flutes in the British Museum, E 71,¹⁷ and the silen on another vase from Boston, 13.95,¹⁸ are arranged on similar schemes.

Thus the Brygos Painter on several attributed vases accentuates the diagonal lines of the pattern, often evolving the scheme of a tipped square. It is a design the other masters do not use, and is typical of this painter.

Hieron owned an atelier, for he signed ἐποίησεν. The majority of his vases are generally believed to have been painted by the hand of Makron, whose name we have on a kotyle in Boston, 13.185.¹⁹ One of Makron's favorite compositions consists of two standing figures, one tall and one short. There are three main groupings of this pair, the tall one usually an elderly bearded man, and the smaller one a young boy or girl. Either the two figures form a V on the lever principle, like those in the circle of Euphronios (pl. IV), or, as a variation of the same scheme, an inverted V forming a triangle, or else the elderly man occupies the central position on the picture plane and the small figure serves almost as paraphernalia to fill an empty space, while some inanimate object on the other side of the axis balances him.

¹⁷ A. S. Murray, *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1894, pl. XIII, no. 49.

¹⁸ Caskey, *Vase Paintings*, Boston pl. X, no. 27.

¹⁹ Beazley, *Red-figured Vases*, 101.

A cup with a youth and dancing girl, New York GR 1120, shows the V motif (pl. V).²⁰ The youth stands on the left of the central axis, and the girl as she dances bends to the right. The converging lines of these two form a V resembling more the lop-sided V of the Troilos kylix than the balanced one on the komast vase of the Panaitios Painter (pl. IV).

A signed example, Vienna, Oesterr. Museum 323, has the inverted V formed by a youth and a maiden.²¹ The youth leans inwards on his staff, making with the girl a triangle.

Dionysos and a silen on a kylix in Brussels, Musée Royal 347,²² belong to the last group. Dionysos is the principal figure and occupies the middle portion of the circle; the silen on his right is quite insignificant and just fits into the empty space left by the god. The krotala which the god holds behind him balance the silen.

Thus the linear composition in these examples of Makron is either some variation of the triangle or else the Early-Style running figure made motionless. Unlike the Brygos Painter, Makron likes to round out the shoulders of his figures to accentuate the curve of the circle, and his drapery, often informal in arrangement, is quite billowy, again helping the round character of the medallion. Makron uses inanimate objects for the purpose of filling out the medallion by their mass, and not as the colleagues of Euphronios and the Brygos Painter do, to emphasize direction of line. The rabbits and grapevines one often finds on his vases give an idyllic character to the scenes, which the athletic apparatus of the Panaitios Painter and the household furniture of Douris do not.

The paraphernalia, by their two uses in the elements of formal design, that of line and mass, serve two contrary purposes. One is to strengthen the new geometric schemes as illustrated in the cups by the followers of Euphronios and the Brygos Painter, the other is to help atone for the new composition by still recognizing the old concept of the roundness of the circle. This latter purpose of paraphernalia is the one Makron employs in his distribution of massive objects in empty areas.

²⁰ Reproduction here by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

²¹ Hoppin, *Handbook* II 89.

²² Hoppin, *Handbook* II 55.

Douris signed all but one²³ of his vases ἔγραψεν, which means he was a painter as well as a shop keeper. Douris' early vases have many analogies with the early athlete kylixes of the Panaitios Painter which have already been described. A signed cup, Boston 00.338 (pl. VI), shows a discobolus which reminds us more of the Panaitios Painter's runner than of his discus thrower. Likewise the design of this cup is a variation of the early running figure (pl. II), with the arms flung out in the normal manner. The legs are not so widely spaced, but still give the impression of running. For direction of line Douris here uses a pick-axe the sharp end of which corresponds to the legs, forming a third radius, while the handle is less intelligible in its direction and is roughly parallel with the line of the shoulders and right arm. A pair of halteres is quite superfluously placed in the field, for, since it is on the same side as the discus, it cannot serve as a balance. Douris uses the same athletic objects as the Panaitios Painter, and utilizes them for the same purpose of varying the Early-Style running figure. Thus it is not unlikely that Douris began his long career with the Panaitios Painter in the atelier of Euphronios.²⁴

The question arises whether the Panaitios Painter and Douris continue to show similarities in design. There is a kylix attributed to the hand of Douris, Athens 1666,²⁵ which is important in this connection, and forms a second step in the evolution of his style. It has the καλός name Athenodotos.²⁶ If the athlete vases of the Panaitios Painter, two of which have the same name, Boston 98.876 and 01.8021, are compared with this kylix from the point of view of design, they must date from the beginning of the Athenodotos period, and Athens 1666 at the end. In this kylix a youth carrying a cup in his left hand is about to pour a libation from the oinochoë in his right hand upon an altar. The altar is included for

²³ Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* 208, no. 123.

²⁴ Beazley, *Red-figured Vases*, 97, thinks that Douris in his early years worked with the Panaitios Painter.

²⁵ Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* 201, no. 19. For a reproduction see *CVA. Athènes, Musée National*, fasc. I, III 1 c, pl. 4, no. 3.

²⁶ See D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names*, Baltimore, 1937, 88, for information on this name. It is contemporary with Leagros, about 500 B.C.

mass, to fill an otherwise empty space. It is placed perpendicular to the exergue line and suggests a chord at right angles to the axis. This purpose, and the arrangement of the massive objects, is foreign to the developed style of the Panaitios Painter and marks the beginning of an increasing divergence in the styles of the two masters.

A signed kylix in the British Museum, E 39,²⁷ forms the third step. Here a boy bends over an altar, holding a sling in his left hand. The altar is in the same position and like prominence is given to it as in the previous vase. The boy is not running, and reminds us of the awkward stooped-over figures of the Early Style.

The next step left for Douris is to make his motionless figure erect, or else to make his running figure still. Previously he had placed his solitary altars only in front of the figure, because the bending or running figure occupied so much of the area, but since an erect figure takes less space, he realized there must be objects on both sides. Another signed cup in Dresden, Kunstgewerbe Museum,²⁸ shows this fourth step. A man, standing erect with feet together, holds out in front of him a purse. Behind him is a chair forming as a chord of the circle a right angle with the main axis, and above it hangs a sponge. Here then is the same composition of a large object on one side and a man in the middle, but in addition the man holds out a purse on one side, and on the other the sponge hangs to balance it.

To summarize the evolution of Douris' arrangement so far, there is first the running figure, next the running figure and a large object on the exergue line, thirdly a stationary bent figure with a similar object, balanced by a smaller object on the other side, and last of all an erect figure with a large object on one side and two smaller objects, one on either side, balancing each other in the field.

In this way Douris has evolved from the Early-Style running figure an erect motionless figure in line with the central axis. The legs stand stiffly together and the arms are motionless. The figure of the man is formed by a series of parallel lines up the central axis. This shows how far Douris has travelled from the Panaitios Painter,

²⁷ Hoppin, *Handbook* I 237.

²⁸ Hoppin, *Handbook* I 461.

who evolved a triangular composition from the same running figure. There are then two fundamental principles in this phase of Douris' design: first, an erect figure perpendicular to the exergue line, and secondly, paraphernalia filling the area in a symmetrical arrangement.

The signed vase, Boston 00.499 (pl. VII), shows even further development in this respect. It has Dionysos with a kantharos standing before an altar, while behind him is a folding chair. Both chair and altar are approximately the same size. Dionysos stands erect as the Dresden man does, but in the use of paraphernalia there is one important addition. Up to now there had been a solitary massive object on one side and smaller ones raised in the field on either side. But here one of the smaller objects has been replaced by a large object on the exergue and the other remains, in this case the kantharos; so that now we have two large objects on the exergue on both sides of the central figure, and a smaller one in the field. Only one of the large objects forms a right angle to the central axis, the other, the altar base, tips up toward the center suggesting a radius. In this manner the fifth and final step was completed in the adjustment of the erect central figure to the kylix medallion.

It is now evident that the unassigned kylix in the Fogg Art Museum (pl. I) is strikingly similar in design to the Boston Dionysos cup. The youth stands upright in the center; on the left stands the amphora, so tilted that the line of its lip aims almost directly at the central point. The pithos on the right is perpendicular to the exergue line. The oinochoë above it is tipped so that in direction and outline it corresponds to the circumference of the medallion. Just as the triangular composition is typical of some of the colleagues of Euphronios, fondness for diagonals is characteristic of the Brygos Painter, and Makron is known by his two-figure arrangements, so here in the unattributed kylix we have a pattern frequently found on works by Douris. For this reason the cup may be assigned to the school of Douris.

There are in addition to our cup other unsigned vases attributed to the hand of Douris which have similar arrangements. Perhaps somewhat earlier than ours is a kylix showing a youth at his laver,

Boston 01.8029.²⁹ He is bent over a basin in front of him, behind him is a jar, and above it hangs a cloth. Because both the ground objects are parallel to the exergue, making the composition seem very stiff, it may be prior in date to the Dionysos cup in which one of the objects is tipped to suggest a radius. A second vase, Boston 97.369, illustrates this feature;³⁰ in this case a woman is washing. The bed behind her is tipped up toward the center and above it hangs the same three-cornered cloth. Aside from the tilting of the bed, the outstanding difference from Boston 01.8029 is the prominence given to the objects which fill the remaining space. For this reason it may well be later than the Dionysos cup and than the unassigned cup.

Five steps were traced in the attainment of the erect central figure. The first was contemporary with the early Athenodotos period of the Panaitios Painter. Chairestratos is a contemporary *καλός* name occurring on the Discobolus vase of Douris which was found so similar to the Panaitios Painter's athlete cups. The second step dates from the end of the Athenodotos period, Athens 1666, the third from the middle of the Chairestratos period, British Museum E 39, the fourth from the end of the Chairestratos period, Dresden kylix. The fifth step, Boston 00.499, has Hippodamas *καλός*, whom most of Hieron's vases also have.³¹ As our kylix belongs to the last stage, it is of the Hippodamas group, and in view of the increasing prominence it gives to stage properties and their further adaptation to the regular divisions of the circle, it comes later than the signed Dionysos kylix in the Hippodamas epoch, about 470 B.C.

Douris too, then, like his contemporaries, has his own technique of design that marks him as an individual. No one else so boldly draws perpendicular parallel lines to fill a circular medallion. Makron comes the nearest to it, but he usually has two figures in his compositions, which are never quite still but show arrested

²⁹ Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* 204, no. 54. Reproduction in Hartwig, *Meisterschalen* pl. 67, no. 1. ³⁰ Beazley, *Att. Vasenm.* 206, no. 90.

³¹ This chronology, which is based on the criteria of design, is in general agreement with that proposed by Beazley in *J.H.S.* XXXIX (1919), 84. See also E. Buschor, "Neue Duris-Gefässe," *J.d.I.* XXXI (1916), 74-95.

motion. There are in addition other stylistic differences, such as the drapery, which in Makron's work is billowy and complex, making it impossible to confuse the style of the two masters.

Douris has often been labelled a conservative, but his arrangement of the single figure in this perpendicular scheme should tend to modify this judgment. For such a pattern was rare in the Early Style. Even in the Ripe Archaic Style, where the school of Euphronios used a triangular pattern, and Makron too, and the Brygos Painter often drew diagonals suggesting a tipped square, the design of Douris is an innovation.

One basis for the view that Douris was a conservative is that he did have a less characteristic design which is based on the older tradition of circular design, the geometric division of the circle into radii and inscribed circles. Whereas Douris used his pattern with parallel lines more for stationary figures, he used the other for active figures. However, his technique in drawing was so skillful that the Early Style runner has achieved an additional grace in his hands.

To illustrate the conservative aspect we may cite again the Boston discus thrower, from whom the descent of the standing figure was traced (pl. IV). In a vase considerably later in the Hippodamas period, a running figure has been made into a splendid design.³² A warrior stands facing front, with his head turned to the right. His feet are widely spaced, one being on a plane behind the other, showing Douris' competence in foreshortening. A shield is held in front of his left shoulder and he has drawn the spear, cutting the medallion through the center. Douris has used the old motifs cleverly, for the crest of the warrior's helmet, the round shield, and the slope of the left shoulder suggest the circumference. The two legs, the spear, and even the lion on the shield correspond in direction to the radii. Every device on the medallion is used to advantage in bringing out the regular divisions of the circle. Even the pleats of the warrior's chiton radiate.

Although the scheme of this last vase shows that there was a conservative strain in Douris, it is in the designs with the straight up and down figures that he makes his contribution to composition within the medallion. In the outline at the beginning,³³ it was

³² Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum; Hoppin, *Handbook* I 222.

³³ See above, p. 43.

stated that parallel lines are the farthest removed from those of the inscribed circles, being chords that cut the axis at right angles. Thus the composition of Douris marks the last possible variant of design on the kylix and causes one to wonder if it was entirely a coincidence that after the period of the Ripe Archaic Style, the fashion of the kylix declined and thereafter the painters of large vases attained greater prominence.

It remains to be answered whether the Greek desire to make man true to life, by giving him a wider field of activity, results in a final unity or in discord of the three elements of design: harmony of line, symmetry of mass, and content.

It is clear that in the sophistication of the linear organization on the medallion the relationship between interior pattern and circular shape grows less close. But symmetry of mass is not lost, even with the varying linear construction of the medallion on which it is arranged. Even Douris, who in his linear organization goes the farthest of all from the prescribed divisions of the circle, is preëminent in his neat and precise ordering of mass. The only difference is that now it is not balanced by distribution on the old lines of the circle, but is used to accentuate or compensate for the new compositions. Thus the colleagues of Euphronios, and the Brygos Painter, employ paraphernalia to accentuate their new compositions; they use arrows, staffs, pick-axes, flute cases and the like to give a sense of direction and length, rather than bulk. On the other hand, Douris and often Makron, since their designs do not fill the medallion, use objects such as altars, kraters, furniture and even animals to compensate by their bulk for the weakness of the pattern. Often, too, Douris tips the objects up and down, so that by their direction they can correspond to the radii, as if realizing that his design is unorthodox. Since it is man he is concentrating on, it does not matter if the subsidiary objects are unnatural. Thus as linear composition gradually fails to fill the circle, the importance of subsidiary masses increases, though always subordinate to the central figure.

Hence the painter of the Ripe Archaic Style tries, in accordance with the traditional concept of unity, to attain an integral whole by the organic harmony of the parts. But whereas in the Early Style harmony of line controls the action of the central figure, now, in the

later period, the concurrent idea of making man more natural and giving him more freedom necessitates a modification of the old lines. The idea of symmetry of mass serves as a conciliating balance between the two opposing forces of harmony of line and shape and realistic representation of life. However graceless this compromise appears to us to-day, it seems to have won the approval of Douris' own contemporaries. He was a normal Greek who liked to see man free in his various activities.

To make the attribution valid, that the Fogg Museum kylix is Dourian, and to form a corollary to the proposition that the masters of the Ripe Archaic Style did have individual methods of design which form a useful criterion in the attribution of vases, other characteristics of our kylix must be found to agree in style with those known to be typical of Douris.

The remaining stylistic characteristics of the kylix may be classed under four headings: the drawing technique, the execution, the subject matter and the shape of the vase. A discussion of these details in turn will show whether or not our kylix is still typical of Douris, and if it is, when in his career it was done, and if not, whether the work of a pupil may account for the differences.

Most convincing for the Dourian relation is the impression of the figure as a whole. This long lean figure, his legs planted stiffly, one beside the other, is clearly analogous to the Odysseus and Neoptolemos on the Vienna Arming cup,³⁴ the youths on the School-Scene cup,³⁵ and many other examples, including Dionysos on the Boston kylix (pl. VII). In the interval of time between the Vienna Arming cup and the Boston one, Douris has gradually loosened up his figures so that rigidity has given way to the easy dignified pose of the youth on our kylix.

The youth's eye is characteristic of the Ripe Archaic Style,³⁶

³⁴ Oesterr. Mus. 325; A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1904, I, pl. 54.

³⁵ Berlin 2285; A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold, F. Hauser, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1909, III, pl. 136, no. 2.

³⁶ G. M. A. Richter, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, 29, fig. 22. The drawing of eye no. *f* is most similar to that of the Fogg Museum kylix.

and forms one of the later steps in the evolution from the round geometric eye to the correct profile eye of the classical period. Here the outer corner of the eye has almost narrowed down to a point; the pupil is far forward and the inner corner is open. His short straight hair is a style of hairdress also typical of the Ripe Archaic period.

The profile of the youth, when compared with that of the maenad on an attributed vase, Fogg Museum 1925.30.129,³⁷ and the woman washing, Boston 97.369, shows many Dourian characteristics. The straight *retroussé* nose is distinguished from the pert noses of the Brygos Painter and the short ones of Makron, and is typical of Douris, as well as the short upper lip and the prominent chin. However, the marked fullness of the lower lip is a variation and may point to the hand of a follower.

In the rendering of anatomical details there occur slight differences from those done by Douris after the first half of the Chairestratos period, but the vocabulary is the same: hooked collar bones, single line indicating the ankle, and brown line in the neck. There is a greater use of inner brown markings on the Fogg Museum kylix.

An important feature of drawing technique is the treatment of drapery. The drapery of Douris' figures hangs limply in long loose folds, as on the Dionysos cup (pl. VII). But in contrast to this cup, where the folds of the god's himation are rythmically measured one from the other and are quite intelligible, the youth's himation is handled most freely and the fold arrangement lacks clarity, especially the clump of drapery below the left arm. The linear scheme of the drapery over the left arm consisting of a quarter oval surmounting a Λ appears also on a fragment in the Scheurleer Museum,³⁸ which is attributed to Douris.

It is worth noticing that the youth is wearing sandals, because it is rare for figures on Greek vases to wear any kind of footwear. They resemble, but are not identical with, those worn by the komasts on the Panaitios vase (pl. IV). Lastly, the border pattern of meanders interrupted by saltire squares is common on vases at-

³⁷ CVA. *Hoppin and Gallatin Collections*, III I c, pl. 9.1.

³⁸ CVA. *Musée Scheurleer*, fasc. II. III I c, pl. 9, no. 1.

tributed to Douris in the later part of his career, for example the Maenad kylix in the Fogg Art Museum.

Thus the technique of drawing on the kylix agrees with the general development of drawing and mannerisms of the Ripe Archaic Style, particularly in the treatment of the eye and hair. There are in addition stylistic analogies with the work of Douris himself: first of all the elevation of the figure, then features of the profile, the anatomical vocabulary, motifs in the drapery, and the border pattern. These traits we also found to be typical of the later part of Douris' career. But because there are variations, as in the drawing of the lower lip and other anatomical details, and the casual treatment of drapery, the drawing on the kylix points strongly to the hand of a pupil rather than Douris himself.

The execution of the signed Dionysos cup will serve as a standard for judgment of the execution of the kylix. The most striking feature of the Dionysos cup is the delicacy and neatness of line, showing a slow steady hand. Not only the border pattern, but also the relief lines indicating the drapery folds, are done with assiduous care. There is a very sparing use of light brown markings, which are conspicuous only on the altar base. The unsigned kylix is of more careless craftsmanship than this vase. The border pattern has been painted in great haste; the contour stripes are irregular. It is probable that two such grades of technique are the work not of one hand, but rather of master and follower.

The subject is very typical of Douris. Douris is best known for his *genre* scenes, although Makron might be considered a rival in this respect. The difference between the two lies in the quality of the scenes. Makron depicted the lighter aspects of everyday life, while Douris, especially in his later vases, drew the more homely and less imaginative, as on the School-Scene vase.

Finally, the shape of the vase is characteristic of the Ripe Archaic period. It is not a tall stemmed kylix, the more familiar type, but rather a small stemless kylix. The handles are like those of the stemmed cups, but the form and dimensions are similar to the small cups of the Sotades Painter.

Thus this further study of the Fogg Museum kylix concurs with the opinion already reached from the study of the composition

alone, that the kylix shows traits belonging to Douris. The drawing technique and subject-matter are the most satisfactory proofs of the Dourian origin, and place its position after the Dionysos kylix and before the very late phase, in or before the time of the cup showing the woman at the wash-basin, about 470 B.C. However, the freedom and lack of precision in drawing and the careless execution mark the work as done by a pupil rather than by Douris himself. It is probable, then, that he too in his later career, like Euphronios and the Brygos Painter, had a circle of followers who made all the school pieces, of which this is another example.

A NEW SOURCE FOR THE TEXT OF SERVIUS

BY ARTHUR FREDERICK STOCKER

THE commentary of Servius on Vergil has descended to us in three forms. *First*, there is that of the majority of the older manuscripts, which we may term the vulgate. Of the three, it is the briefest, and in some respects the most coherent. It is explicitly ascribed to Servius by most of the manuscripts, and modern criticism recognizes in it the strongest claim to authenticity. *Second*, there is the much longer form which, because it was first brought to light in the year 1600 by the scholar and bibliophile, Pierre Daniel, has since borne the name of Servius Danielis, or Servius auctus. It is found in a comparatively small number of manuscripts, all of early date. In none of these, however, is it directly ascribed either to Servius or to anyone else. Much of the additional material is unique, and redolent of antiquity. Daniel himself believed that he had discovered a form of the text which came nearer to being the genuine Servius than the vulgate, basing his judgment on the similarity which he noted between certain of the added notes and *explicationes* put into the mouth of Servius by Macrobius.¹ More recent investigators have shown conclusively that the *additamenta* are not Servius' at all,² but rather derive from some other ancient source,³ perhaps the lost commentary of Aelius Donatus,⁴ and were

¹ *Pub. Virgilii Maronis Bucolicorum Eclogae X, Georgicorum Libri IIII, Aeneidos Libri XII, et in ea Mauri Servii Honorati Grammatici Commentarii, ex Antiquiss. Exemplaribus Longe Meliores et Auctiores*, 'Lectori Salutatio,' Paris, 1600.

² Vid. Émile Thomas, *Essai sur Servius et son Commentaire sur Virgile*, Paris, 1879, 44-129, and Georg Thilo, *Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Virgilii Carmina Commentarii*, praefatio, I, Leipzig, 1881, pp. III-LXIX.

³ Vid. R. Halfpap-Klotz, *Quaestiones Servianae*, Greifswald, 1882, 1-3; Paul Wessner, "Bericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Grammatiker mit Einschluss der Scholienliteratur und Glossographie für 1901-1907," *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft CXXXIX* (1908), 164-165; Karl Barwick, "Zur Serviusfrage," *Philologus LXX* (1911), 106-145.

⁴ Vid. F. Lammert, "De Hieronymo Donati Discipulo," *Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses IX* (1912), 41-51; E. K. Rand, "Is Donatus' Commentary on Virgil Lost?," *Classical Quarterly X* (1916), 158-164; J. J. H. Savage, "More on Donatus'

fused with the Servian commentary by an unknown scholar of the seventh or eighth century.⁵ *Third*, there is an expanded form of the commentary found chiefly in Italian manuscripts of Renaissance date. This we may term the late Servius auctus. The additional material it embodies is far inferior in character to that belonging to Servius Danielis. For one thing, there are none of those citations of "lost" authors, otherwise unknown to us, with which Servius Danielis abounds.⁶ Many of the additions bear the unmistakable stamp of the Renaissance, e.g., the numerous awkwardly interjected passages of Greek. Modern scholars have been unanimous in their disparagement of this variety of text, though for reasons into which I shall subsequently enter I believe that the manuscripts which preserve it may be deserving of closer study than has heretofore been accorded them.

Editors of Servius since the time of Daniel have combined, with varying degrees of skill and understanding, the first and second forms of the commentary into a single, running text, and quite generally ignored the third. Only Lion,⁷ whose work was in the main careless and uncritical,⁸ availed himself of the testimony of manuscripts which appeared to belong to the third class; and the fact, that in codex Guelferbytanus 209r, the earlier of the two manuscripts of Wolfenbüttel that he used, he uncovered an extremely important source for the vulgate text, seems to have been the result rather of good fortune than of especial acumen on his part. Nor were his successors any more shrewd in their appraisal of his find. Thomas,⁹ recognizing in Guelferbytanus 209r only the apparent symptoms of the Renaissance text, pronounced it far

Commentary on Vergil," *Classical Quarterly* XXIII (1929), 56-59. For a contrary view, however, vid. H. J. Thomson, "Ancient Lore in Mediaeval Latin Glossaries," *St. Andrews University Publications* No. XIII (1921), 56-59, and "Servius Auctus and Donatus," *Classical Quarterly* XXI (1927), 205-206.

⁵ Vid. Thilo, *Comm.* I, praef., pp. LXVII-LXIX, and Barwick, *Serviusfrage*, 145.

⁶ Thomas, *Essai*, 30.

⁷ H. Albert Lion, *Commentarii in Virgilium Serviani, sive Commentarii in Virgilium Qui Mauro Servio Honorato Tribuuntur*, Göttingen, 1826.

⁸ Thomas, *Essai*, 348-350.

⁹ *Essai*, 348.

inferior to the manuscripts used by Burmann,¹⁰ and the representative of *une recension déjà très corrompue de la Vulgate*. Thilo, whose edition of Servius has been standard for more than half a century, valued it no more highly,¹¹ and allotted it only a few scattered references in his apparatus criticus.¹²

Only recently, in the course of the preparation of a new edition of Servius by Professor E. K. Rand and a group of his former pupils, has the importance of Guelferbytanus 2091, which hereafter I shall designate by the siglum *W*, emerged. Then it was by a devious route. First, J. J. H. Savage,¹³ one of the Harvard editors, to whom an enormous debt is owed for the first comprehensive survey of the manuscript tradition upon which the text of Servius rests, noted that in the fragment of the commentary on the *Aeneid* furnished by codex Vaticanus 3317 (*V*),¹⁴ a Beneventan book assigned by Lowe¹⁵ to the latter half of the tenth century, the lacuna, which had been observed at the end of the life of Vergil (Th. 3, 22) in all the sources of vulgate text that had up to that time been recognized, is satisfactorily filled. True, the lacuna is filled in exactly the same way by manuscripts of the late Servius auctus. But everyone had been disposed to assume that he had to do there merely with the felicitous interpolation of some scholar of the Renaissance, and not until the identical text was recognized in a manuscript nearly contemporary with the best of the vulgate sources did it begin to command respect, and at the same time to exalt the prestige of the other books whence it comes. At about the same time, G. B. Wal-drop, another of the Harvard editors, in an admirable study of the relationships existing between the important vulgate manuscripts,¹⁶ indicated that *V* does not fit at all into the pattern formed by the

¹⁰ Peter Burmann, *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera cum Integris et Emendationibus Commentariis Servii, Philargyrii, Pierii*, Amsterdam, 1746.

¹¹ *Comm.* I, praef., p. XCI.

¹² E.g., at *Aen.* I 4 (Th. 11, 1), *Aen.* I 28 (Th. 23, 15).

¹³ "The Manuscripts of the Commentary of Servius Danielis on Virgil," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLIII (1932), 83.

¹⁴ So designated by Thilo, who made use of it in editing the commentary on the *Georgics*.

¹⁵ E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* I, Oxford, 1929, pl. XLIX.

¹⁶ "Evidences of Relationship in Certain MSS of Servius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLV (1934), 212.

two previously recognized classifications of manuscripts, distinguished by Thilo¹⁷ and Savage,¹⁸ and now more firmly established by himself, but rather seems to preserve a variety of text independent of their common archetype. Some time after this, Professor Rand¹⁹ observed that the few readings of *W* which Thilo has cited in his apparatus criticus agree strikingly with variants culled from *V*. As his research assistant at that time, I was charged with the task of looking more deeply into this correspondence. I found that *W* furnishes a text of the commentary on the *Aeneid* actually copied from *V*,²⁰ in all likelihood before *V* suffered the loss of its later quaternions, and consequently that it carries with it the weight and authority of that important tenth century source²¹ rather than merely of the thirteenth century manuscript which it is.²²

I propose now to demonstrate that we have in *V* and *W* together a single and venerable witness to the vulgate text of Servius, entirely independent of either of Thilo's families, by the aid of which we are enabled at times to correct, at others to establish on a much firmer basis, the *textus receptus*. For purposes of comparison, I shall not utilize the precise manuscripts to which Thilo had recourse, but rather the more carefully selected manuscripts of the same families which are being used by the Harvard editors. These are:

A. Of the family of Thilo's *K*, *L*, *H*, which, following Savage²³ and Waldrop,²⁴ I shall term *β*, viz.:

¹⁷ *Comm.* I, praef., pp. LXXXV-LXXXVII.

¹⁸ "The Manuscripts of Servius' Commentary on Virgil," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLV (1934), 157-158.

¹⁹ Vid. E. K. Rand, "Une Nouvelle Édition de Servius," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1938, 322.

²⁰ Thilo (*Comm.* III, praef., p. XVII) had already noted that *W*'s text for the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* was copied directly from *V*.

²¹ Vid. my Harvard doctoral dissertation, *De Novo Codicum Servianorum Genere*, Cambridge, 1939, of which a summary appeared in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, L (1939), 123-126. I repeat here some of the findings of my dissertation because of their present relative inaccessibility.

²² According to Professor S. H. Thompson, of the University of Colorado, who gave his opinion in a letter addressed to Professor Rand (vid. Rand, *Nouvelle Édition*, 322 n. 3).

²³ *Servius Manuscripts*, 159-190.

²⁴ *Evidences of Relationship*, 211-212.

<i>A</i>	Codex Caroliruhensis Aug. 1116	s. IX/X
<i>J</i>	Codex Metensis 292	s. IX
<i>K</i>	Codex Caroliruhensis Aug. 186	s. IX
<i>Pa</i>	Codex Paris. Bibl. Nat. 7959	s. IX
<i>Ta</i>	Codex Trevirensis Bibl. Civ. 1086	s. IX

B. Of the family of Thilo's *B*, *M*, which, following Savage²⁵ and Waldrop,²⁶ I shall term γ , viz.:

<i>B</i>	Codex Bernensis Bibl. Publ. 363	s. IX ex.
<i>Pb</i>	Codex Paris. Bibl. Nat. 16256	s. X/XI
<i>M</i>	Codex Monacensis 6394	s. XI

C. Of Servius Danielis, viz.:

<i>C</i>	Codex Cassellanus bibl. publ. ms. poet. fol. 6	s. IX
<i>P</i>	Codex Paris. Bibl. Nat. 1750	s. IX

I shall also, from time to time, refer to codex Vindobonensis 27 (*N*), a book of the early tenth century,²⁷ now at Naples. It is hybrid in character, basically of the same class as *V* (*W*), but strongly contaminated by the influence of γ . The importance of *N* lies in the confirmation it frequently gives to readings of *V* (*W*) which might otherwise be regarded as peculiar to *V*, or to its more immediate ancestors, rather than as the heritage from some ancient archetype.

If one could distinguish in any manuscript a reservoir of indisputably correct readings in passages where all its fellows are demonstrably corrupt, he would obviously have succeeded in proving the worth of that manuscript, and in establishing the principle that its variants, even when they cannot positively be shown to be superior to those transmitted in the rest of the tradition, are at least entitled to equal consideration with them, however great the preponderance of opposing testimony. The difficulty is that in comparatively few cases is it possible to establish beyond the possibility of doubt the fact that one of two or more inherited readings is the correct one. Student and scribe of every age, if they thought they detected a blemish in the tradition handed down to them, or if, for one reason or another, they could not understand it, generally

²⁵ *Servius Manuscripts*, 190-204.

²⁶ *Evidences of Relationship*, 211-212.

²⁷ Lowe, *Script. Benev.* I, pl. XXXI.

felt no reluctance to try their hand at emendation, and, sometimes, they actually succeeded in putting together a sounder-appearing text than that of the pristine autograph. In such cases, it becomes exceedingly difficult to say with any degree of assurance that one or the other reading is "correct."

I call attention, however, to four instances in the brief fragment of the commentary on the *Aeneid* which remains in *V*²⁸ where it would seem at least probable that *V*, usually its offspring *W*, and sometimes *N*, alone of all the manuscripts save those of the late auctus variety, preserve the true reading:²⁹

vit. Verg. (Th. 3, 17) habet haec] nec habet *V* (*W*)

vit. Verg. (Th. 3, 22) alias] periit autem tarenti in apuliae ciuitate. nam dum metapontum cupit uidere ualitudinem ex solis ardore contraxit. sepultus est autem neapoli in cuius tumulo ab ipso compositum est distichon tale: mantua me genuit calabri rapuere tenet nunc parthenope. cecini pascua rura duces *add. V* (*W*) *N*

Aen. I 2 (Th. 9, 2) prolepsin] *V* prolempsin *W A γ* prolempsim *Pa C* prolemsin *N* prolemsis *Ta*

Aen. I 5 (Th. 11, 20) dummodo . . . significat] dum modo dum (*hic* aliquando *add. B*) conderet urbem aut troiam aut (*hic* ad *add. K*) laurolauinium aut romam significat β *B* modo dum conderet urbem aut troiam aut laurolauinium aut romam significat *Pb M* dummodo (*del.*, Modo dum conderet urbem aut troiam aut laurolauinium aut romam significat *C*³) *C* dum dummodo *V* (*W*)

It means little that *V*'s *prolepsin* (*Aen.* I 2) is correct where all the other manuscripts are in error; in a matter so small as this, the

²⁸ The fragment runs from the beginning of the commentary to the words *Eurus equis* (Th. 25, 23), in the middle of the note on *Aeneid* I 35. Pierre de Nolhac (*La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887, p. 195) and E. A. Lowe (*Script. Benev.* I, pl. XLIX) assert that the text breaks off at *Aeneid* II 417, but on this vid. J. J. H. Savage, *Servius Danielis Manuscripts*, 83 n. 1.

²⁹ Most, if not all, of these readings bear the approval of the Harvard editors.

role of chance may well be the dominant one. But the other three unique readings furnished by *V* are of convincing merit.

The sequence of thought at *Aeneid* II 583-586, in the passage quoted by Servius in his account of the life of Vergil, hardly admits of the reading *habet haec* which all the rest of the tradition, both of the vulgate and of Servius Danielis, transmits. The *tamen* in line 585 pretty clearly excludes the possibility of an apodosis to *etsi* (583) in line 584. Most editors of Vergil have recognized the undesirability of *habet haec*, and have adopted *nec habet*, though without knowledge that it had any support at all among the Servian codices. We have here, then, a significant instance of *V* attesting a true reading against all the rest of the manuscripts, which, therefore, we must regard as descendants of an alien, corrupt archetype.

I have already mentioned the fact that in *V*, alone of all the ancient manuscripts save for the hybrid *N*, the lacuna at the end of the life of Vergil (Th. 3, 22) is filled. It must, of course, be allowed that there is nothing impossible about the assumption that some student of Servius prior to the tenth century had filled the lacuna by interpolation. The plain fact, however, is that the rest of the tradition is demonstrably corrupt, while that of *V* is perfectly satisfactory. No good reason comes to my mind for denying the authenticity of *V*'s text, especially since it appears as well not only in *N*, but also in the flock of manuscripts representing the late Servius auctus. It fits smoothly on to that which has gone before, yet it is so situated at the transition point, between the life of Vergil—the thread of which might readily have been lost in the course of copying the long quotation—and general comments on the poem, that it could easily have been omitted by oversight in the archetypal manuscript of $\beta\gamma$.

Finally, there surely must be something amiss with the text of the note on *Aeneid* I 5. The word primarily under discussion is *urbem*, which, it is explained, may signify any one of *Troiam*, *Laurolavinium*, or *Romam*. Though the language is turgid, the three possibilities are made abundantly plain in the development of the note, so that no conceivable need should be felt for their being introduced again at the close. Moreover, none of the manuscripts in which they are re-introduced presents of itself a properly

readable text. Thilo is driven to adopting the original text of *C*, a manuscript of Servius Danielis, and appending thereto the addition of *C*³, a corrector drawing, as he himself recognized,³⁰ from corrupt β or γ . How much better is the version of *V*, which dismisses altogether the uninspired *conderet urbem . . . significat*, and merely draws the distinction for which the sense calls, viz., that if *urbem* be taken to signify *Romam*, as has just been suggested, *dum* cannot, as above (Th. 11, 18), be the equivalent of *donec*, but rather of *dummodo* "on condition that"! It appears that in the archetype of all the other manuscripts palaeographical confusion had developed out of the proximity of *dum* and *dummodo*, probably originally taking the form of a haplography of *dum*; that the pertinence of the surviving *et est sensus dummodo* was no longer clear; that some emender, therefore, added *dum conderet urbem*, in the hope of thus making plain that it was *dum* the *sensus* of which was now under discussion. The recurrence of the word *urbem*, however, seems to have reminded him, or perhaps some subsequent emender, of the original subject of the note, none too lucidly developed at the outset and by now still more obscure, so, recapitulating, he added the gloss *aut troiam aut laurolauinium aut romam significat*. *V* helps us to restore what surely is much more likely to be the genuine text of Servius.

There is other evidence to support the independence of *V* from the common archetype of $\beta \gamma$ hardly less convincing than that which I have presented. I allude to five passages wherein *V* (*W*), alone of all the vulgate manuscripts save *N*, and that only once, transmit a correct reading that has already been recognized in *C*, a text of Servius Danielis:

vit. Verg. (Th. 3, 14) Priamus? Troia] *V* (*W*) *C* pro priamo
troia *A* pro priam ut troia *Ta* *M* pro priamo ut troia
*Ta*² priamo ut troia *Pa* proprio ut troia *N* pro priam
aut troia *Pb* troia manus *B*

Aen. I 1 (Th. 5, 13) inania sentire] *V* (*W*) *C* in hanc asentire
A in hoc assentire *A*² *C*² in hanc sentire *Pa* in hac
sentire *Ta* in hac assentire *B* *Pb* in hanc assentire
N *B*² *Pb*² assentire in hanc *M*

³⁰ *Comm.* I, praef. p. XLVIII.

Aen. I 1 (Th. 6, 24)Troiae] *V* (*W*) *N C* asiae $\beta \gamma$

Aen. I 6 (Th. 13, 6) execratione] *V* (*W*) *C* exsecrationem
(excretionem *Pb*) *N* $\beta \gamma$

Aen. I 20 (Th. 20, 2) et tria] *V* (*W*) *C* et triam *P* et tri *K*
tria *B* tria enim *N A J Pa Ta Pb M*

These good readings are surely foreign to the common archetype of $\beta \gamma$. Their presence in *V* constitutes presumptive evidence for its independence of that archetype. The possibility would remain, however, that some sort of cross-current of influence might once have linked the ancestors of *V* and *C*. Color would be lent to this suspicion by the fact that the text of *V* in the commentary on the *Georgics*, according to Thilo³¹ and Savage,³² is of the Servius Danielis variety.

This much, of course, is clear: *V*'s text in the *Aeneid* fragment is not *auctus*, like *C*'s or *P*'s.³³ There are, it is true, a few trifling phrases and clauses to be found in *V* which Thilo, after his fashion, prints in italics, to designate them as belonging to the *auctus* form of the commentary.³⁴ But it is not credible that anyone bent on enriching *V*, or an ancestor of *V*, from the more abundant treasure of Servius Danielis should have contented himself with such paltry borrowings. Much rather would it seem that these *quisquiliae*, like the material at the end of the life of Vergil, are really Servius', but had for some reason or other fallen out of the corrupt archetype of $\beta \gamma$.

It is, however, theoretically possible that contamination might have taken place between an ancestor of *V* and an exemplar of that text of Servius which we believe was fused with another ancient commentary to produce our Servius *auctus*. For it would appear that the Servian text which entered into this union was in some respects superior to that of the archetype of $\beta \gamma$. I shall not dwell at length on the plausibility of such a hypothesis. The Harvard editors will have something to say about it when their work is published. For the present, I shall confine myself to showing that,

³¹ *Comm.* III, praef. pp. X-XVI.

³² *Servius Danielis Manuscripts*, 83.

³³ *P* furnishes a peculiarly abridged form of Servius Danielis.

³⁴ E.g., *pro ad Italiam venit* (*Aen.* I 2, Th. 7, 21) and *ut stet versus* (*Aen.* I 3, Th. 9, 14).

whatever the theoretical possibility, there is the slimmest of actual evidence in favor of such a supposition.

In order to establish the existence of a link connecting the family trees of *V* and *C*, it would be necessary to adduce a substantial number of instances of agreement between the two in the transmission of important errors in text. It would not be enough to detect them in occasional agreement on minor departures from the clearly sound reading; such might quite plausibly be taken to have had an independent origin in the line of each. Nor would it be enough even if they were to be found united on some readings sharply divergent from the accepted vulgate tradition, unless, of course, it could convincingly be shown that the latter were of necessity sound, or the former of necessity corrupt. If both versions prove to be readable, then the common "error" might lie on either side, and we have already had occasion to note that the archetype of $\beta \gamma$ is by no means impeccable.

I enumerate all the instances that I have collected of agreement between *V* (*W*) and *C* (*P*) in readings rejected by Thilo, in order that the reader may judge for himself how feeble a body of evidence they comprise to substantiate a charge of contamination:

- vit. Verg.* (Th. 3, 5) poenam] poenas *V* (*W*) *N C*
vit. Verg. (Th. 3, 20) famam] famae *V* (*W*) *C*
praefatio (Th. 4, 15) unam et viginti fabulas scripsisse]
scripsisse fabulas **XXI** *V* (*W*) *N C*
praefatio (Th. 4, 18) et *om.* *V* (*W*) *N C*
praefatio (Th. 5, 3) ut iam nunc dicat *om.* *V* (*W*) *C P*
Aen. I 1 (Th. 6, 22) in *om.* *V* (*W*) *N C*
Aen. I 1 (Th. 7, 2) peritissime] perite *V* (*W*) *C*
Aen. I 1 (Th. 7, 4) fluvium *om.* *V* (*W*) *C ss. C¹ vel C²*
Aen. I 2 (Th. 7, 25) agitare putasti *om.* *V* (*W*) *C*
Aen. I 2 (Th. 8, 26) primum] prius *V* (*W*) *C*
Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 19) IACTATVS] et alto *add.* *V* (*W*) *C*
Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 20) e] de *V* (*W*) *N C*
Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 24) complexus est] conclusit *V* (*W*) *N C*
Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 24) ET *om.* *V* (*W*) *C P*
Aen. I 4 (Th. 10, 22) alt. et *om.* *V* (*W*) *N C*

Aen. I 5 (Th. 11, 16) *fieret*] *fierent* *V* (*W*) *C*

Aen. I 8 (Th. 15, 7) *numina*] *nomina* *V* (*W*) *C*

Aen. I 17 (Th. 19, 6) *vir et mulier*] *uiri et mulieres* *V* (*W*)
N C

Aen. I 35 (Th. 25, 23) *vel om.* *V* (*W*) *P*

Of these nineteen rejected readings, thirteen, I think, are no whit inferior to those taken by Thilo from his vulgate sources. He dismissed them merely in accordance with his consistent editorial practice of preferring the vulgate, as he knew it, to Servius Danielis, wherever he found minor differences between the two. But they are inherently quite as likely to be genuine as Thilo's, and they convey no real indication of cross-contamination between *V* and *C*. A fourteenth (*Aen.* I 35) is surely casual; *P*, by its very nature, as an abridgment, is prone to just such omissions as that of *vel*, and it signifies nothing that *V* (*W*) happen in this instance to be similarly imperfect, especially since *C* attests the presence of *vel* in the tradition of Servius Danielis.

I recognize but five certain "errors" shared by *V* and *C*: *poenas* for *poenam* (*vit. Verg.*), the omission of *ut iam nunc dicat* (*praefatio*), *prius* for *primum* (*Aen.* I 2), *fierent* for *fieret* (*Aen.* I 5), and *nomina* for *numina* (*Aen.* I 8). Surely the last three need give us no pause. They fall into the category of minor departures from the clearly sound reading, and as such may reasonably be thought to have originated independently somewhere in the background of both *V* and *C*. I should not attach much more importance to *poenas* were it not for the fact that some editors of Vergil read at *Aeneid* II 572 *poenas Danaum* rather than *Danaum poenam*. If this were the text of Vergil that Servius knew, *V* and *C* would be sharing an unnatural transposition from the metrically sound to the metrically impossible. It seems tolerably clear, however, from the consensus of the manuscripts, that, whatever Vergil himself may actually have written, Servius had before him, and adopted, a text with the words *Danaum* and *poenam* (or *poenas*) in that order. Since it is incredible that the great Vergilian commentator should have passed an unmetrical line, his text must have been *Danaum poenam*. Now, because of the greater frequency, throughout all Latin literature, with which the word *poena* is used in the plural number than in the

singular, and because of the fact that all the other objects of the participle *praemetuens* (Th. 3, 6) are in that number, it would be easy to conceive of *poenam* slipping independently into *poenas* in the lines both of *V* and *C*.

The common omission of *ut iam nunc dicat* presents more of a puzzle. It disrupts entirely the sense of Horace, whom Servius is quoting, and it lacks a simple palaeographical or psychological explanation. Conceivably, we might assume that *iam nunc dicat* fell independently from each tradition; from *ut* it would be easy for the eye of a copyist to leap to *iam nunc debentia dici*, to the detriment of the *iam nunc dicat* that intervenes. This much gone, the need for *ut* itself would be less obvious—indeed, it might be mistaken for that *ut* which often introduces quotations in Servius, but which would be quite inappropriate here—and it, too, could have suffered independent suppression. Perhaps a simpler way, however, of explaining the phenomenon without postulating some community of background is to assume that the error goes back to a super-archetype, beyond that which we have been recognizing for $\beta \gamma$, and from which *V* and the variety of Servian text that went into Servius Danielis also descend; that the error never was corrected in the family-tree of these latter; but that it was corrected in the archetype of $\beta \gamma$ by someone who knew Horace well enough to supply the missing words. I confess that this one instance, viewed by itself, would tend to indicate the existence of some relationship between *V* and *C*. But I submit (*a*) that there is reasonable doubt of the inference to be drawn even from this case; (*b*) that it constitutes the solitary piece of evidence pointing in that direction; and (*c*) that the study of the text of *W*, a copy of *V*, confirms the thesis of absolute independence.

I have shown, I think, that *V* is beyond question independent of the archetype of $\beta \gamma$, i. e., of all the vulgate texts that Thilo knew; also that it is probably independent of the tradition of Servius Danielis. Before proceeding to show that we have in *W* trustworthy access to the rest of its unhappily mutilated text, in order to present a more nearly complete record of what it has to contribute, and to provide the means for recognizing any manuscripts akin to it which may in the future come to light, I shall

enumerate: (a) some readings of *V*, alone or with *N*, that are as likely to be correct as Thilo's, and which, now that we have demonstrated the integrity of its tradition, deserve to be weighed equally in the balance with them; (b) some clear errors of *V*, which, because they are shared with *N*, must be referred to some earlier archetype of its kind; and (c) some errors of *V* alone, which may either go back to that archetype or be the individual perversions of *V* or of its immediate ancestors. For the moment, I shall disregard the witness of *W*.

(a) Readings of *V* (and sometimes *N*) which may be correct:

- vit. Verg.* (Th. 1, 3) patre Vergilio] ortus est patre marone *V*
praefatio (Th. 4, 1) derivativum] deriuatum *V N*
Aen. I 2 (Th. 7, 24) praepositiones] praepositionem *V*
Aen. I 2 (Th. 8, 6) saepius *om. V*
Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 19) est enim] enim est *V*
Aen. I 4 (Th. 11, 1) ad eorum exemplum alia] ad eorum similitudinem alia exempla *V N*
Aen. I 5 (Th. 11, 11) hic sunt] sunt hic *V N*
Aen. I 6 (Th. 12, 15) fuerunt Latini] latini fuerunt *V N*³⁵
Aen. I 7 (Th. 13, 17) a quo *om. V*
Aen. I 9 (Th. 15, 19) sic] sicut *V N*
Aen. I 9 (Th. 15, 19) alibi] et *add. V N*
Aen. I 11 (Th. 16, 7) iracundiam] iracundias (*ex iracundia*) *V*
Aen. I 13 (Th. 17, 18) valde] ut *add. V N*
Aen. I 18 (Th. 19, 12) sed] et *add. V*

(b) Readings of *V* and *N* which are certainly not correct:

- vit. Verg.* (Th. 2, 10) septem annis] quadriennio *V N*
Aen. I 2 (Th. 8, 26) dicta est] dictum est *V N*
Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 17) autem] enim *V N*

³⁵ F. Pauly ("Randbemerkungen zu 'Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina rec. G. Thilo et H. Hagen, Vol. I, fasc. 1, Leipzig, 1879,'" *Jahresbericht des k.k. ersten Staats-Gymnasiums in Graz*, 1879, p. 4) proposes the emendation *tum erant latini*.

Aen. I 6 (Th. 13, 1) potuit . . . Aenea] noluit ergo auctor
aeneas *V N*

Aen. I 7 (Th. 13, 23) porro . . . honorem] rerum roma *V N*

Aen. I 24 (Th. 21, 24) vel contra ut] ut contra *V N*

Aen. I 24 (Th. 22, 10) autem] enim *V N*

Aen. I 26 (Th. 22, 19) hi . . . habent *om. V N*

(c) Readings of *V* alone which are certainly
not correct:

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 6) autem *om. V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 8) primum] uirgilio *add. V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 9) Ballistam latronem] balista latrone *V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 12) sive octo *om. V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 13) Priapeia] priapeiam *V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 13) Catalepton] catadecton *V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 2, 8) ei proposuit] praeposuit ei *V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 3, 11) ibit] iuit *V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 3, 19) iuvabit] iuuauit *V*

vit. Verg. (Th. 3, 22) se] si *V*

praefatio (Th. 5, 2) vaticinationem] uagationem *V*

Aen. I 1 (Th. 5, 12) disserunt] dixerunt *V*

Aen. I 2 (Th. 7, 23) vel *prius om. V*

Aen. I 2 (Th. 9, 1) dixit] dixi *V*

Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 9) cum] dum *V*

Aen. I 4 (Th. 10, 21) hoc] hic *V*

Aen. I 5 (Th. 11, 14) te *om. V*

Aen. I 6 (Th. 12, 1) aliud] alius *V*

Aen. I 7 (Th. 13, 25) urbes] urbis *V*

Aen. I 8 (Th. 15, 4) numina] nomina *V*

Aen. I 12 (Th. 16, 10) ab urvo] acurba *V*

Aen. I 14 (Th. 17, 26) dives equum *om. V*

Aen. I 16 (Th. 18, 10) delectatur] dominatur *V*

Aen. I 22 (Th. 21, 1) κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν] per cata antifrasin *V*

Aen. I 22 (Th. 21, 2) nulla re bella] nullo re bello *V*

* * * * *

It is difficult to prove beyond all possibility of contradiction that one manuscript has been copied directly from another. Extremely close correspondence in the transmission of peculiar read-

ings is a straw in the wind, but it falls far short of establishing the thesis. That correspondence of this sort exists between *V* and *W* is clear. I have already stated that Professor Rand noticed it merely by comparison of the fully collated readings of *V* with the haphazard report on *W* derived from Lion. When *W* had been completely collated as well, the agreement was found to be so striking as forcibly to suggest the hypothesis of direct descent, but other indications were needed to make this hypothesis a convincingly probable one. Such, I think, I have found.

First, it is obvious from some of its misreadings that *W* either was itself copied from an exemplar in Beneventan script, like *V*, or, failing that, at least traces its origin from one. Twice in *W* I have found *hoc* for *hac*,³⁶ subsequently corrected. There is no apparent explanation for the slip in either case. But to anyone familiar with the "oc" form of the letter "a" that was used by Beneventan scribes it is clear how such a mistake might have arisen if *W* was copied from a Beneventan source. Moreover, at a number of places I have found the letter "c" falsely introduced within a word before a following "t" or "a,"³⁷ more rarely a legitimate "c" omitted before a following "t."³⁸ These mistakes, too, would appear to have their origin in the form taken by the letters "t" and "a" in Beneventan script. The cross-stroke of the former is doubled back on the left of the shaft in such wise, in the hand of *V*, as almost, if not entirely, to join the base of the shaft, and to give the superficial impression of "ct." The "oc" form of the latter may, at times, look very much like "ca," especially when the loop of a following letter is pressed close up against it.

The clinching evidence, however, comes from two much more striking cases. In the note on *Aeneid* I 119, Servius discourses upon the quantity of the syllable *tro*, in *Troia*. For *tro* (Th. 55, 14), the

³⁶ On *Aen.* I 1 (Th. 6, 5) and *Aen.* I 24 (Th. 21, 25).

³⁷ A spurious "c" before "t" I have noted in *facta* for *fata* (*Aen.* I 258, Th. 96, 8, and elsewhere), *factorum* for *fatorum* (*Aen.* I 39, Th. 27, 21), *conductam* for *conditam* (*Aen.* I 267, Th. 99, 2), *lictorum* for *litorum* (*Aen.* I 436, Th. 143, 17), and *inductus* for *indutus* (*Aen.* II 275, Th. 265, 20); spurious "c" before "a" occurs in *vaccat* for *vacat* (*Aen.* I 5, Th. 11, 9) and *formcatur* for *formatur* (*Aen.* I 683, Th. 194, 5).

³⁸ E.g., *transata* for *transacta* (*Aen.* I 199, Th. 78, 5), *leti* for *lecti* (*Aen.* I 518, Th. 159, 27), and *transatam* for *transactam* (*Aen.* II 9, Th. 214, 6).

scribe of *W* writes *aro*. No conceivable miscomprehension of the note, or wandering in the mind of the scribe, could account for a blunder such as this. The only plausible explanation is that somewhere in the background of *W* the letter "t" must have looked like, and been taken for, a letter "a." In no script would the confusion of these two letters be more easy than in Beneventan. So also do we find it in the note on *Aeneid* I 273. Where the bulk of the manuscripts read *eo* (Th. 102, 2), codices *J* and *K* read *patre*, *N* and *P* read *avo*, both of which are clearly gloss-words that have supplanted in the text the original and somewhat ambiguous *eo*. *W* offers the totally irrational *tuo*. The explanation must surely lie in the close relationship which exists between *W* and *N*. Back of *W*'s *tuo* stands *N*'s *avo*. The same confusion between "t" and "a" is again indicated, and again it is the ghost of a Beneventan ancestor that is rearing its head.

It seems evident, then, that *W* descends from a Beneventan source like *V*. I believe it can be shown with some assurance that that source was *V*. There are four readings in *W* which are best understood from that assumption.

I have already mentioned as one of the certain misreadings of *V* its offering of *ivit* for *ibit* at *Aeneid* II 578 (*praefatio*, Th. 3, 11). The word appears, of course, with the "v" quite indistinguishable from a "u," and with "i" longa at the beginning. In *W*, the word is so written as, to a superficial glance, it would seem to be written in *V*, viz., as *luit*.

After the word *Laurolavinium* (*Aen.* I 2, Th. 8, 4) the scribe of *W* wrote *tiberi*, then canceled it, and proceeded, as was meet, with *manifestum est*. This seems more than strange until one observes that for the *iuxta Tiberim* (*Aen.* I 2, Th. 8, 3) of β , γ , and *C*, *V* provides *subiuncta tiberi*, and that *V*'s *tiberi* occurs in the line directly above *laurolavinium* at about the distance from the margin where the eye of the scribe would fall in quest of his next word. The condition of *W* is best explained on the assumption that the scribe, copying from *V*, carried in his mind for purposes of transcription a section of text ending with *laurolavinium*, and then, resuming, picked up with his eye the word *tiberi*, at about the right distance from the margin, but in the wrong line, wrote it out, but then caught his mistake, and rectified it at once.

In the main body of the text of *W*, the words *nunc ergo . . . nesciebant* (*Aen.* I 23, Th. 21, 11-14) are omitted; they are supplied, by another hand, I think, in the upper margin. Two features of their rendition in *V* might account for their having been left out in *W*, if *W* be taken to have been copied thence: (a) they consume almost exactly two lines of text, so that *nesciebant* falls two lines directly below *refertur* (Th. 21, 11), the word preceding *nunc ergo*; (b) the final *-nt* of *nesciebant*, ligatured, bears a superficial resemblance to the symbol for *-tur* with which *refertur* ends, and produces a suggestion of homoeoteleuton. Again, it becomes a matter of the eye of the scribe returning to the page at the right position with reference to the margin, but on the wrong line, this time below rather than above the one it was seeking. The memory of already having transcribed *tiberi* and the words following saved him, in the previous instance, from proceeding far with his mistake. There was nothing to save him here, and a subsequent corrector had to supply the omitted lines at the head of the column.

Finally, to *illic* (*Aen.* I 16, Th. 18, 16), *V* adds the phrase *sicut habemus in superioribus*. It so happens that *sicut ha-* is written at the end of one line, and *-bemus in superioribus* at the beginning of the next. In this same passage, *W* reads *sicut hoc habemus in superioribus*, with the *hoc* canceled. The addition of *hoc* by the scribe of *W* becomes perfectly natural if we assume that he was copying out the line in *V*, through *sicut ha-*, but mistook the final Beneventan "a" for the "oc" it resembles, then, when he came to *-bemus* at the beginning of the next line, realized his blunder, and corrected it by canceling *hoc*.

Of differences in text between *V* and *W* there are no more than would be expected to develop in the course of a single transcription. *W* provides, of course, a considerable number of "modernized" spellings, appropriate to the thirteenth century rather than to the tenth,³⁹ but they signify no more about the origin of its text than do the modern spellings in a twentieth century edition of Shakespeare. Comparatively frequent, also, are divergences between the two produced by the addition or omission in *W* of a single vertical

³⁹ E.g., *eciam* for *etiam* (*Aen.* I 1, Th. 6, 5), *autoritatem* for *auctoritatem* (*Aen.* I 6, Th. 12, 19), *michi* for *mili* (*Aen.* I 8, Th. 14, 1).

stroke,⁴⁰ a type of error to which its Gothic script is particularly prone. In a few places, I have found compendia either that are present in *V* omitted in *W* or that do not occur in *V* supplied in *W*.⁴¹ There is a sprinkling of inconsequential variants involving only a single letter.⁴² The text of *V* appears to have received the attention of two correctors, one of whom functioned before the copying of *W*, the other after.⁴³ A few of the apparent divergences between the two derive from this fact. I find three words omitted in *W* that are plainly legible in *V*;⁴⁴ but surely there is nothing improbable about these having been lost in the course of a single transcription.

Of significance to refute my contention that *W* is a direct copy from *V* would be any additional material, not present in *V*, that might be detected in *W*. I have noted only five instances of such, over none of which we need pause more than briefly. Two I have already discussed. I have shown that the *tiberi* in *W* after *Lauro-*

⁴⁰ E.g., *cuuitates* in *W* for *ciuitates* in *V* (*Aen.* I 12, Th. 16, 9), *nirabilem* in *W* for *mirabilem* in *V* (*Aen.* I 14, Th. 17, 28).

⁴¹ E.g., *significā* in *W* for *significat* in *V* (*Aen.* I 1, Th. 5, 15), *troia* in *W* for *troiā* in *V* (*Aen.* I 5, Th. 11, 14).

⁴² E.g., *Aen.* I 8 (Th. 15, 11) *numen*] *V* *nomen* *W*
Aen. I 12 (Th. 16, 17) *epexegessin*] *efexegessin* *V* *exfexegessin* *W*
Aen. I 16 (Th. 18, 8) *namque*] *namq*; *V* *nam* *W*

⁴³ *W* sometimes furnishes the text of the original scribe, e.g.,

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 8) *primum ab hoc*] *Primum uirgilio (ex uirgilius) ab hoc* *V*
Primum uirgilius ab hoc *W*

vit. Verg. (Th. 2, 7) *agrum quem*] *agros quos (ex agrum quem, ut vid.)* *V*
agrum quem *W*

praefatio (Th. 4, 1) *Theseo om. V ss. V² om. W*

Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 12) *multille*] *Multille/ V Multillet* *W*

sometimes the emended version, e.g.,

vit. Verg. (Th. 1, 4) *Magia*] *W* *ma/gia* *V*

praefatio (Th. 4, 12) *Iulo*] *filio ss. V² filio add. W*

praefatio (Th. 5, 10) *Emathios*] *plusquam cibilia (cibilia in ciuilia) campos*
add. V plusquam ciuilia campos add. W

Aen. I 8 (Th. 14, 13) *ministrat*] *ministrat in ministraret V ministraret W*

Aen. I 12 (Th. 17, 1) *coloni . . . condiderunt*] *W* *Colo (verbi Colo proximae litt., et quattuor vel quinque verba sequentia, fort. coloni . . . advenae, eras.) V -ni autem . . . et in ras., hos . . . condiderunt ss. V²*

⁴⁴ *non* (*Aen.* I 1, Th. 6, 4), *ecce* (*Aen.* I 2, Th. 7, 20), and *est* (*Aen.* I 32, Th. 25, 15).

lavinium (*Aen.* I 2, Th. 8, 4), and the *hoc* in *W* after *sicut*, in the phrase *sicut habemus in superioribus* which *V* and some other manuscripts append to *illic* (*Aen.* I 16, Th. 18, 16), both seem to derive from peculiar circumstances in the text of *V*, and consequently do not refute, but rather powerfully confirm, the belief that *V* is the actual source of *W*. There remain:

- vit. Verg.* (Th. 3, 17) *feminea*] *V* a *add.* (*post. del.*) *W*
Aen. I 3 (Th. 9, 9) *ergo*] *V* *dicere add.* (*post. del.*) *W*
Aen. I 5 (Th. 11, 14) *alio*] *V* in *add.* (*post. del.*) *W*, *sed*
supra in *verbum deletum* o *exarata est*.

Surely it is not likely that any one of these additions was other than casual. The first is probably a simple dittography, the second the result of a temporary lapse in the mind of the scribe, induced by notice of *dici*, at the end of the sentence. In the case of the second, at least, it would appear that recognition of the blunder and correction at the hand of the original scribe were immediate. The third case is rendered strange by the suprascript "o." It is not particularly remarkable that a copyist should carelessly have written *alio in loco* instead of *alio loco*. But it is challenging to speculate why, after deleting *in*, anyone should have written an "o" above it. Possibly the word added to *alio* in the original writing was not *in* at all, but *modo* written as "m" with an "o" above it. If so, one might presume that the scribe first wrote *alio modo* for *alio loco*, and, as in the case of *dicere*, corrected himself at once. Be this as it may, certainly no one of these additions of *W* to the text of *V* casts the slightest doubt upon the validity of our hypothesis that *V* is the parent of *W*.

If it were to appear that *W* were free of errors that characterize the text of *V*, we should be forced to take pause. But in only two passages is the text of *W* superior to that of *V*: (1) *W* transmits the correct *agrum quem* (Th. 2, 7), where *V* clearly now reads *agros quos*. In my judgment, however, the letters *-ros quos* in *V* are *in rasura*, and not necessarily the work of a Beneventan scribe. Moreover, between the "o" and the "s" of *quos* I think I can detect traces of an original "e," over which the well-known Beneventan sign for final "m" may have stood. Consequently, I think it

credible that *V* originally furnished *agrum quem*, and transmitted it to *W*, but was subsequently itself corrupted by a late thirteenth or fourteenth century reviser. (2) On *Aeneid* I 22, *W* attests the correct *nulla re bella* (Th. 21, 2), where *V* has *nullo re bello*. But this was so easy a correction that the scribe of *W*, even though he does not seem to have been given to emending, might almost involuntarily have made it.

I have shown, I think, that *W* in all probability affords us a direct copy of the fragment of the commentary on the *Aeneid* that survives in *V*. The question still remains whether *W* stemmed from *V* before the loss of *V*'s later quaternions, which embraced the commentary on *Aeneid* I 36 ff., or whether the writer of *W* found it in the same mutilated condition as that in which we see it today. Of course, no answer to this question can be given with complete assurance. But there is fairly strong circumstantial evidence which would indicate that *W* furnishes *V*'s text throughout. First, the Beneventan traces in *W* are no less numerous beyond *Aeneid* I 35 than before. Second, the character of its text, about which I shall speak further in a moment, remains the same, conspicuously independent of the archetype of $\beta \gamma$. The most cogent argument, I think, is that the scribe of *W* would hardly have begun to copy *V*'s text on the *Aeneid* at all if he had seen that it was so shortly to fail. Rather he would have turned directly to the complete source to which evidently he had access. By a strange circumstance, we are in a position to know that there was in existence and near at hand, at about the time of *W*'s origin or a little later, a copy of another text, similar to that of *V*, but distinct from it. The first few folia of *V*, containing the introduction to the Servian commentary on the *Eclogues* and the comment on *Eclogue* I 1-60, are so badly faded as practically to be illegible in the original Beneventan hand. They have been re-written in a Gothic hand of the fourteenth century.⁴⁵ When the proprietor of this Gothic hand had restored all that was illegible in the Beneventan, he found himself in the middle of a page. For aesthetic reasons, he continued his copying until he had filled that page, with the result that we have within the covers of *V* the Servian commentary on *Eclogue* I 60-81 twice

⁴⁵ This is the dating by Professor E. K. Rand.

told, once by the original scribe, once by the Gothic renovator. Careful comparison of the two texts shows that, while they are similar, they are not the same; the scribe of the fourteenth century did not painstakingly decipher the all but vanished writing of his Beneventan predecessor, but rather drew from another, kindred source. It is not impossible that this other source may have been available to the scribe of *W* for the commentary on the *Aeneid*. At any rate, from the homogeneous character of *W*'s text, it is evident that some complete source of the commentary on the *Aeneid*, if not *V* then very similar to it, was available, and I believe that the scribe of *W* would have had recourse directly to his other source if the text of *V* had broken off then, as now, at *Aeneid* I 35.

* * * * *

In the space that remains, I wish to treat briefly the general character of the text of *V* (*W*). For the sake of convenience, I shall confine myself to the commentary on *Aeneid* I-II.

I have already shown that the text of *V*, as far as we have it, is independent of the archetype of $\beta\gamma$, and in all probability likewise of the branch of Servian tradition that became woven into Servius Danielis. It would be tedious and unprofitable if I were to show in equal detail that the same is true of the text of *W* for the remainder of the commentary. The nature of the evidence is identical. I find *W*, both alone (or supported only by *N*)⁴⁶ and with *C*,⁴⁷ attesting a goodly number of readings which either are correct where our other sources are corrupt, or, failing that, are, at least, definitely superior to those of the Thilonian vulgate. While I find *W* and *C* not infrequently agreeing also in other divergences from the Thilonian vulgate, where no inherent presumption in favor of either version exists, and sometimes even in palpable misreadings

⁴⁶ E.g., *Aen.* I 44 (Th. 31, 14) expirantem] *W N* ex(s)pirat $\beta\gamma C$

Aen. I 178 (Th. 71, 11) liberavit] liberaui *W*

Aen. II 20 (Th. 218, 15) quo] qua *W N*

⁴⁷ E.g., *Aen.* I 178 (Th. 71, 11) recepit] recepi *W C codd. Verg.*

Aen. I 467 (Th. 150, 1) Catillusque] *W N C* cathillusque *A J* chatillusque *Pb M* cathilusque *Pa* achillusque *Ta* ilus *B*

Aen. II 15 (Th. 215, 19) nectaris] *W N C P* nestoris $\beta Pb M$ loc. om. *B*

of minor import, I find only three instances which might be taken to indicate some sort of mutual contamination. None of these is, to my mind, convincing.

The note on *Aeneid* I 417 (Th. 138, 1-13) falls into two parts both in the vulgate and in Servius Danielis, but the structure in the vulgate is slightly different from that in Servius Danielis. In the vulgate, the initial lemma is *TVRE CALENT ARAE SERTISQVE RECENTIBVS HALANT*, followed by *ecce . . . honore* (Th. 138, 1-2), and *quod autem recentibus dicit, laus loci est, qui semper flore vestitur* (Th. 138, 3-4); then comes another lemma, the single word *SERTIS*, and *sertum . . . sagmarium* (Th. 138, 5-12). In Servius Danielis, on the other hand, the first lemma is restricted to *TVRE CALENT ARAE*, followed, as in the vulgate, by *ecce . . . honore*, and an added *quia Aeneas hostias obtulerat, quarum hic mentio non fit* (Th. 138, 2-3); the second lemma is *SERTIS RECENTIBVS*, followed by *sertum . . . sagmarium*, then *quod autem recentibus dicit, laus loci est, qui semper flore vestitur*, and an added *ut omni tempore Veneri flores praesto esse videantur* (Th. 138, 4-5). The point to which I call especial attention is that the vulgate and Servius Danielis offer the comment on *RECENTIBVS* in different sections of the note, under lemmata that are adjusted accordingly. *W* presents this comment in the appropriate vulgate position, but with the initial lemma of Servius Danielis, as we see it in *C*, so that the *SERTISQVE RECENTIBVS HALANT* which constitutes the warrant for its presence in the first part of the note is lacking. At first blush, this circumstance seems impressive, and tending to link the text of *W* with that of some manuscript of Servius Danielis, like *C*. I believe, however, that a little reflection will show that this is not a necessary conclusion. In *W*, as in all the manuscripts of Servius, the abbreviation of words in a lemma, or in a Vergilian quotation, by the use of initial letters is common. Thus abbreviated, they were prone to fall out of the text altogether. It seems to me much more probable that somewhere in the line of *V* (*W*) the vulgate lemma first was reduced to *TVRE CALENT ARAE s.q.r.h.*, and that the *s.q.r.h.* subsequently was lost, than that any redactor should have committed the blunder of revising the lemma by the aid of an alien codex without first looking to the content of the note.

In the comment on *Aeneid* I 374, *W N* and *C P* share a strange misreading. Where all our other manuscripts transmit the indubitably sound *nomina quae de Graecis in "os" exeuntibus ad nos transeunt* (Th. 126, 20), these four read *nomina quae de Graecis in "os" exeunt et ad nos transeunt*. The confirming testimony of *N* and *P* shows that we have to do both in *W* and in *C* with an inherited reading. This is not an easy corruption. It does violence to the syntax, and lacks ready palaeographical explanation. I am inclined to think, however, that it is in palaeography that the answer lies. The error must go back to an abbreviation *exeuntib;*, which some careless copyist or copyists mistook for *exeunt&*. It does not seem to me improbable that these abbreviations might have been confused with one another by more than one scribe. Consequently, I can conceive of the corruption originating independently in the respective families of *W* and *C*. Therefore, I feel no compulsion on the score of this instance to forsake my hypothesis that the two are unrelated witnesses.

My third case of agreement is the most difficult to explain on any other basis than that of contamination. When I was studying the text of *V* (prior to *Aeneid* I 35) and its relation to that of *C*, I conceded that there was one bit of evidence which, taken by itself, would seem to indicate a link between their traditions. That was the unnatural omission of *ut iam nunc dicat* (Th. 5, 3) in both manuscripts. Now, in surveying the text of *W* for the remainder of the commentary on *Aeneid* I–II, I find again one more than casually significant indication of a link between its text and the text of *C*. On *Aeneid* II 97, the Servian vulgate carries the following explanation:

PRIMA MALI LABES quia secuta sunt postea oraculum et adscita Calchantis factio. *labes* vero ruinam significat a lapsu (Th. 233, 23–25).

Servius Danielis has the same note, with the insertion after *factio* of "*adscita*" *sane dicitur "adsumpta"* (Th. 233, 24). Because the word *adscita* belongs not to Vergil, but to the commentator, the explanation that it is the equivalent of *adsumpta* can hardly be taken as anything else than a gloss, the note of someone to whom the meaning of Servius' *adscita* seemed likely to escape the average reader. It becomes, therefore, noteworthy, indeed, when, after

lapsu, we find in *W* and *N*, somewhat garbled, to be sure, and expanded by the addition of one more synonym, virtually the same gloss: "*unde scita*" *autem dicitur* "*adsumpta*" (*absumpta* *N*) "*composita*." It was possible, with some flexing of the long arm of coincidence, to conceive of *ut iam nunc dicat* falling independently out of the tradition of both *V* and *C*. It is not equally possible to conceive of the same gloss on *adscita* independently evolving in each. No thoughtful observer would deny that both *W* and *C* inherit it from a common ancestor. Once again, I must frankly allow that the inference to be drawn from this isolated case is strongly opposed to my view of the independence of the two families. On the other hand, we now know that *V* and *W* furnish one text, and we cannot fail to be impressed by the paucity of evidence in two whole books of commentary that would tend to link this text with the text of *C*. There are but the two significant bits of it, viz., the common omission of *ut iam nunc dicat* and the common introduction of this gloss. In view of the meagre character of the evidence, I feel that we are bound to explore all other possible interpretations of these cases, and I find perfectly plausible for this latter instance the explanation which I suggested on *ut iam nunc dicat*, viz., that the gloss and the omission both derive from a super-archetype to which all the families of Servian text may be traced, that they survived in the lines of *C* and *V* (*W*), but that they were purged from the common archetype of $\beta \gamma$.

The importance, of course, of the discovery of this new and independent text of Servius is not merely that it provides us on occasion with the means for healing passages hitherto corrupt, but also that it furnishes fresh witness to the far more numerous passages where two or more readings are vying for recognition. Thilo relied entirely upon β and γ , the testimony of which is not infrequently divergent. Future editors will have the aid of *V* (*W*), whose authority, we have seen, is equal to that of the consensus of β and γ , and whose support in general may be taken to establish the validity of the text of either one of these families over that of the other.⁴⁸ Moreover, *V* (*W*) may appropriately be invoked to

⁴⁸ A sufficient number of seemingly non-Servian readings is shared by *V* (*W*) and γ to give rise to the suspicion that a relatively unimportant infusion of some of the

arbitrate differences of reading, though not, of course, questions of content, between the Thilonian vulgate, based on β and γ , and Servius Danielis. In general, a conservative editorial policy would be disposed to allow the testimony of $C+V$ (W) over that of β γ , or of $C+\beta$ γ over that of V (W). It is important to remember, however, that C , to all appearances, furnishes not a homogeneous text, but rather a fusion of some as yet not clearly identified form of the Servian commentary with the commentary of another ancient scholar. The weight to be attached to its testimony in any given case, therefore, must obviously depend on the variety of Servian text that went into it. If, for example, C were to represent a Servian text of β -kind, interwoven with that of the anonymous ancient commentator, clearly its testimony could not be invoked to confirm a reading of β over, let us say, one of γ and V (W). This thorny problem, however, I leave to the consideration of the Harvard editors.

Before passing to another phase of the discussion, I offer a concrete example of the usefulness of V (W) to the editor. Rather frequently, this new text agrees with that of A , J , and K in omitting words or phrases that appear in Pa , Ta , and γ .⁴⁹ In the great majority of cases, there is nothing at stake one way or the other. In not all of these instances, of course, is it to be supposed that W A J K are sound; especially where a word or words at the end of a quotation is involved, the possibility of independent error, resulting from abbreviation by the use of initial letters, is present.

former's readings into a forebear of the γ class may have taken place. It seems significant that many fewer inherently objectionable readings are shared by V (W) and β . On the other hand, whatever contamination may have taken place does not appear to have been of sufficient moment to disturb our principle that V (W) may ordinarily be considered a trustworthy arbiter between β and γ .

⁴⁹ I have noted ten cases in the commentary on the first hundred lines of the *Aeneid*. The following will serve as examples:

- Aen.* I 23 (Th. 21, 4) futuro] $V(W)$ A J K C P enim add. N Pa Ta γ
Aen. I 28 (Th. 23, 11) Electrae paelicis]—vel similiter— $V(W)$ N A J K C P
 filiae atlantis (athlantis Ta Pb M) add. Pa Ta γ
Aen. I 79 (Th. 44, 5) Bucolicis] W N A J K legimus add. Pa Ta Pb P legi-
 mus de augusto add. M haec add. B
Aen. I 100 (Th. 50, 5) Laocōn Laocōntis] varie N Pa Ta γ om. W A J K

But because of the fact that other types of agreement *in rebus dubiis* between *V (W)* and *A J K* are rare, we may, I think, safely conclude that the testimony of *V (W)* convicts *Pa Ta γ* of at least occasional conspiracy in small ways to inflate the true text of Servius. *Pa Ta* are known to furnish a text of *variorum* character;⁵⁰ the prime offender is quite surely *γ*. Without the help of *V (W)*, however, the editor would almost certainly be disposed to honor the witness of all of *γ* and part of *β* against what now appears to be the sound text of *A J K*.

When Teuber,⁵¹ Thomas,⁵² and others were disparaging Lion's Guelferbytni, the burden of their complaint was that they are of late date, and that they are swollen with interpolations belonging to what we term the late Servius auctus. *W* must unreservedly be acquitted of any depravity on the first count; surely a manuscript but once removed from a tenth century source, like *V*, must not be condemned for the mere fact that the transcription happened to take place in the thirteenth century. That it contains interpolations, however, is not to be denied. But these cannot fairly be impressed with the stamp of the late Servius auctus, for, as I shall presently show, they are almost all to be found in *N*, a manuscript of earlier date even than *V*, and consequently must have been inherited by the scribe of *W*.

I shall briefly analyze these interpolations. Many, of course, are of a type common to all families of manuscripts. There are what may be termed "glide" words, which have been introduced into the text to add smoothness to the flow of thought,⁵³ glosses, or elaborations of the thought in the supposed interest of clarity,⁵⁴ and addi-

⁵⁰ They belong to the group *β*², discussed by Professor Rand (*Nouvelle Édition*, 320).

⁵¹ A. E. Teuber, *De Mauri Servii Honorati Grammatici Vita et Commentariis*, Particula I, Breslau, 1843, p. 35.

⁵² *Essai*, 348.

⁵³ E.g., *praefatio* (Th. 4, 13) Vergilius] *dicens add. V(W) N*

Aen. I 13 (Th. 17, 18) *valde] ut add. V(W) N*

Aen. I 76 (Th. 42, 19) *maioris] mos add. W N*

⁵⁴ E.g., *Aen.* I 113 (Th. 53, 18) *rege] suo add. W N*

Aen. I 181 (Th. 72, 19) *Latio] pro in latium (lacium W) add. W N*

Aen. I 224 (Th. 85, 27) *volatur] id est transitor (transeatur N) add. W N*

Aen. I 224 (Th. 85, 27) *volat] eo quod (nam N) uelis facientibus naues ueloces sint add. W N*

tions comprising the word or words of Vergil directly following upon quotations made by Servius.⁵⁵ Over these we need not pause.

More or less peculiarly characteristic of the text of *V* (*W*), on the other hand, and usually of *N*, is the insertion of additional quotations, drawn either from Vergil or from other classical authors, to illustrate the application of some Servian dictum. I offer the following merely as examples of this very common type of interpolation:

Aen. I 92 (Th. 46, 25) est] uritur infelix dido (*Aen.* IV 68)
add. W N

Aen. I 114 (Th. 53, 26) synecdoche] ut salustius in iugurthino (67, 1) ubi signa et scuta erant presidium hostium. per scuta (secuta *W*) intellegenda (intelligenda *W*) et cetera arma. et idem (*Aen.* IX 370) tercentum scutati omnes pro armati *add. W N*

Aen. I 141 (Th. 61, 10) aristas] et alibi (*Geo.* IV 132) regum aequabat opes animo *add. W N*

Aen. I 149 (Th. 63, 26) animalibus] ut (*Ter., Andr.* 933) arrige aures pamphile *add. W N*

In commenting on this feature of the text, Thomas⁵⁶ points out that certain manuscripts similarly interpolated—which he never properly distinguished from *W*—as opposed to those of Servius Danielis, do not provide any quotations from lost authors, or from lost portions of the works of known authors, beyond those which are already extant in the Thilonian vulgate. This statement, so far as my observation goes, is true for *W*, and I am willing to grant that the failure of any such unique relics of antiquity to show themselves among the considerable number of added quotations does argue against the authenticity of the whole body of them. On the other hand, this, too, should be emphasized. *W* does not, like a manu-

⁵⁵ E.g., *vit. Verg.* (Th. 2, 21) cano] troiae qui primus ab oris *add. V(W) N*

Aen. I 113 (Th. 53, 20) novorum] inuenio *add. W N*

Aen. I 171 (Th. 68, 17) contendunt] petere (p. *W*) *add. W N*

Aen. I 257 (Th. 96, 2) immota] tuorum fata (facta *W*) tibi *add. W N*

⁵⁶ *Essai*, 30.

script of the late Servius auctus, such as Parisinus 7965, display the copious Greek quotations which are a distinctive feature of the Renaissance text. The supplementary quotations which it does show are, to the best of my knowledge, quite appropriate to the late Middle Ages.

Present also in the text of *V* (*W*) are a not inconsiderable number of actual additions to the thought of Servius, as we have it from the Thilonian vulgate. Because of the excellence of *V* (*W*)'s lineage they are not to be condemned without examination, even when they are entirely without support from other quarters. Some are no doubt the genuine work of Servius, which have for one reason or another fallen out of the other texts. We have seen a striking example of this at the end of the Servian life of Vergil (Th. 3, 22), where *V* (*W*) and *N* alone fill a gaping lacuna. On the other hand, the majority of them are mere banalities, most plausibly to be attributed to some mediaeval schoolmaster, who used his Servius as the thoughtful reader uses a scholarly work today, and annotated it in the margin. His jottings subsequently, by chance or by design, became incorporated into the text. I list a few examples:

Aen. I 203 (Th. 79, 16) amavi] cantauī *add. W N*

Aen. I 273 (Th. 102, 11) in tutela esse Martis] in tutela martis esse *W N* dicitur autem lupus marti dicatus ut alibi (*Aen.* IX 566) martius (marcius *W*) ab stabulis (stabuli *N*) rapuit lupus *add. W N*

Aen. I 276 (Th. 103, 9) GENTEM] Excipiet bene dixit *add. W N*

Aen. I 290 (Th. 106, 17) nostris] aeneia (eneia *W*) nutrix. nam ideo in bucolicis dixit (I 7) namque erit mihi ille semper deus et in georgicis (III 16) in medio mihi caesar (cesar *W*) erit t.t. (t.t. *om. N*) *add. W N*

Aen. I 291 (Th. 106, 19) ASPERA] iniqua *add. W N*⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *W*'s text makes two notes out of one, with separate lemmata. The first is on ASPERA, defined by *iniqua*: the second is on TVNC, explained by the original *id est . . . reversionem*.

The most obvious interpolations to be found in the text of *V* (*W*) are certain *quaestiones*, introduced by some such interrogative word as *quomodo*, and usually answered by *soluitur*, or *soluitur sic*. These are a feature of the late Servius auctus, and their presence in *W* was apparently believed by Thomas⁵⁸ to link it with that form of the commentary. I am going to transcribe the *quaestiones* which I have found interwoven with *W*'s text for *Aeneid* I–II, and I call attention to the fact that, almost without exception, their origin in the tenth century, if not earlier, is confirmed by the testimony of *N*.

Aen. I 361 (Th. 124, 2)

crudelis] Portantur auari pigmalionis opes. quomodo pigmalionis si sythei erant. soluitur. sed eas iam suas fecerat scelere qui sycheum occiderat. aut ad animum retulit auari qui opes alienas iam suas fecerat *add. W*⁵⁹

Aen. I 393 (Th. 132, 10)

undis] cum cygnus (cignus *W*) nec in praepetibus nec in oscinibus nominetur, cur ab illo sumitur augurium. soluitur. quod augurium ad aquilam poeta retulit. sed docet uirgilius (uir *N*) bonum omen (omen *in ras. N*) nautis factum de cigni uolatu *add. W N*

Aen. I 488 (Th. 154, 26)

solvendum] Principibus p.a.a. (Se quoque principibus agnouit achiuis *N*). quomodo se potuit in pictura agnoscere (cognoscere *W*). soluitur sic. siue quod nomina erant scripta siue ex factis facile possit agnoscere. sed melius ad uirtutem bellatoris referendum est *add. W N*

Aen. II 215 (Th. 256, 7)

febris] Post ipsum auxilio. quomodo se misit filios liberare qui talem uim conspiciebat. sed ne parricida diceretur qui filios non liberauit *add. W*

Aen. II 457 (Th. 289, 24)

SOCEROS] quare ad soceros (saceros *W*) cum socer et socrus dicatur. soluitur. quia que (que *om.*, quae *ss. N*) ex diuersis potiora (pociora *W*) sunt ad suum genus clausulam stringunt. an quia omnes qui ad socerum pertinent socrus (soceri *W*) sunt. ad soceros. ad praesens retulit tempus uel ad priamum uel ad hecubam (ecubam *W*) dicens soceros *add. W N*⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Essai*, 4, 247–251.

⁵⁹ Virtually the same *quaestio* is given in *N* after *iustum est* (Th. 124, 3).

⁶⁰ Cf. the *quaestio* in Servius Danielis *ad loc.*

Aen. II 501 (Th. 295, 25)

poterat] est autem hic plena et (et *om.* *W*) affectus dolore repetitio (repeticio *W*). centum nurus. quomodo centum nurus cum dicat (*Aen.* II 503) quinquaginta illi thalami spes tanta nepotum. soluitur. non centum nurus sed per centum aras (sed . . . aras *bis*, *sed corr.*, *W*) hecubam (haecubam *N*) et nurus. et centum aras pro multis posuit *add. W N*

Aen. II 528 (Th. 299, 16)

VACVA] atria. quare uacua. quia omnes ad aram confugerant aut sine troianis id est ciuibus. aut certe uacua iure graecorum (greorum *W*) et possessione uacantia (uacancia *W*). aut certe ampla. uel *add. W N*

Aen. II 546 (Th. 301, 27)

imo] pendit. quomodo pendit cum dixerit (*Aen.* II 545) rauco quod protinus aere (ere *W*) repulsum. soluitur. nequiquam pendit non pendit id est frustra *add. W N*

Aen. II 550 (Th. 302, 16)

auxilium] implicuitque comam. quomodo comam si armatus cum galea erat. soluitur sic. sed non omnes crines galea tegit. siue quia non habebat galeam. nam hoc dicit (dixit *N*) (*Aen.* II 509) arma diu senior desueta trementibus aeuo (euo *W*) et (*Aen.* II 510) inutile ferrum cingitur *add. W N*

Aen. II 552 (Th. 302, 22)

sublatum] capulo tenus abdidit. si (*Aen.* II 557) iacet (iacens *W*) ingens litore truncus (cruncus *W*) auulsum caput, si latus percussit priamo, quomodo truncum. hoc postea factum est. nam hoc in insignibus uiris fieri solet ut alibi (*Aen.* XII 511) curruque abscisa duorum suspendit capita. an cata to siopomenon (cata siu pemenon *W*) liceri suo id est pirrhi (pirri *W*) dicat quod in uagina (uaginam *N*) recondidit gladium *add. W N*

Aen. II 558 (Th. 303, 27)

agnitione] si ad aram occisus est quomodo litore. soluitur sic. litus dicitur locus circa aram prope pedes duodecim dictus a litando. alii litus pro terra (propterea *W*) accipiunt sicut alibi (*Aen.* IV 212) cui litus arandum, agros mari uicinos possidendos *add. W N*

Aen. II 710 (Th. 322, 10)

ERIT] quomodo ambobus cum dicat (*Aen.* II 723) dextrae (dextre *W*) se paruus iulus implicuit (implicat *N*). soluitur. huiusmodi enim

aetas (etas *W*) in captiuitatem solet recipi ut alibi (*Aen.* II 766) pueri et longo ordine matres *add. W N*

Aen. II 728 (Th. 324, 22)

consternat] iamque propinquabam portis. quomodo portis si (*Aen.* II 725) ferimur (pergimur *N*) per opaca uiarum. soluitur. sed per opaca locorum extra portas (quomodo . . . portas *om. W mg. inf. W²*). has portas dixit quas acceperat cum colonia fieret. honor est patriae (patrie *W*). sulcus dicitur extra ciuitatem ex terra aratro uertatur in omni circuitu et a portando portae (porte *W*) appellatae (appellate *W*) sunt *add. W N*

Aen. II 748 (Th. 326, 1)

multitudo] cingor (accingor *W*) fulgentibus armis. si armatus erat quare cingor. soluitur. hic ad scutum refertur. idcirco scutum non habebat, quia patrem et filium continuerat *add. W N*

Aen. II 804 (Th. 331, 30)

significat] incipiunt quaestiones (questiones *N*) libri tertii. incerti quo fata ferant (fer *W*) (*Aen.* III 7). quomodo ergo supra dictum est et (*Aen.* II 781) terram hesperiam uenies. soluitur sic. quomodo non dixerit incertos ignaros sed quia nescirent italia ubi esset (itali ubi essent *N*). desertas (desertasque *N*) quaerere terras (*Aen.* III 4). quare desertas cum alibi (*Aen.* I 531) dicat potens armis atque ubere glebae (glebe *W*). soluitur sic. desertas a maioribus nostris id est a dardano. non ad sterilitatem (sterelitatem *N*) retulit *add. W N*

Although it is well known that there was a school of captious critics long before the time of Servius who preferred just such charges against Vergil's poems as those which it is the purpose of the *quaestiones* to answer, and also that Vergil had defenders specifically against these critics, with whose writings Servius must have been familiar, it is hardly to be thought that the *quaestiones* belong to the genuine Servian commentary. For one thing, most of them are very loosely joined with the accompanying comment;⁶¹ many, like that on *Aeneid* II 501, are, at least in part, painfully redundant. Moreover, the Latin style, consistent throughout all of them, is conspicuously inferior to that of Servius. It does seem

⁶¹ I call attention especially to the one on *Aeneid* I 361, also to those at *Aeneid* II 804, which pertain to the text of *Aeneid* III 4 and III 7, and are given in the wrong order.

probable, however, both from the similarity of their form and from the phrasing at *Aeneid* II 804—*incipiunt quaestiones libri tertii*—that they all derive from one collection of *quaestiones*, compiled certainly not later than 925 A.D. (the approximate date of *N*), and perhaps very much earlier. I venture to suppose that they were originally copied into the margin of a common ancestor of *V* (*W*) *N*, and that subsequently they were rather carelessly interwoven with the Servian text of that family. But their presence in no wise detracts from the excellence of the basic text with which they are associated; the fusion is so imperfect as to leave them readily distinguishable from it, for with not even the strictly adjacent portions has there been any tampering in the interest of a smooth juncture.

So it is, in the main, with all the interpolations that I have found in the text of *V* (*W*) *N*. For the most part, they are fairly easily recognizable. Moreover, I have seen no evidence which would lead me to suppose that the scholar who introduced them undertook at the same time anything like a general revision of the inherited text. Consequently, while we must observe a certain amount of caution in accepting the "additions" made by *V* (*W*) *N* to the Thilonian vulgate, we may, on the other hand, view divergences of reading between them through strictly unbiased eyes, judging the respective versions quite on their own merits, and in the light of whatever critical standards we may choose to adopt. The important thing to realize is that *V* (*W*) *N* represent an archetype equally venerable with the archetype of $\beta \gamma$. The only legitimate preference for the readings that come from the manuscripts of $\beta \gamma$ derives from the fact that, by reason of the multiplicity of these manuscripts, we can be more sure that their consensus truly reflects the state of their archetype than that the consensus of *V* (*W*) *N* reflects the state of theirs.

I close with an expression of hope that sometime we may yet have nearly as clear a view of the archetype of *V* (*W*) *N* as we have of its alternative. In my judgment, it will be highly profitable to re-examine the entire tradition of the late Servius auctus, on the chance that, underlying its present form, swollen with accretions from the Renaissance, there may be found a recognizable text of

Servius descending from that same now dimly discernible archetype. We know that the *quaestiones* are in the late auctus; may it not be that the basic Servian text with which they are joined in *V (W) N* is also present? I hoped some time ago to prosecute this inquiry in the libraries and museums of Europe. Mars intervened. In the fullness of time, however, it may be possible to provide the answer.

LETO'S HAND AND TASSO'S HORACE

BY FREDERIC MELVIN WHEELOCK

A FINE incunabulum of Horace published at Venice in 1483 with the commentaries of Landini pirated from the Florentine edition of 1482 is preserved at the John Hay Library of Brown University.¹ Statements from various sources that this book also contains manuscript marginalia by Pomponio Leto, Bernardo Tasso, and Torquato Tasso naturally stirred the interest of one who had already been confronted with the problem of Leto's script² and prompted a study of the book and its "Pomponian" marginalia.

The book³ is bound in vellum. On the outside of the front cover a neat hand has written: "Postillato da P. Leto B. Tasso T. Tasso." Another note written by a different hand and pasted to the inner side of the cover says: "La maggior parte delle postille sono di Bernardo Tasso. Quelle della Poetica sono di Torquato Tasso; le piccolissime sono di Pomponio Leto." Then to illustrate this statement there are given specific, paginal references⁴ to sample marginalia by each of the men named. After a few further remarks, unimportant for us, the note ends with these words: "Scritto sotto la dettatura di Mons. Giuseppe Angelini. Il 17 Gennaio 1874." A third manuscript note, briefer than the preceding but containing essentially the same details,⁵ has been penned directly on the verso

¹ For a general account of this book see "Tasso's Horace at Brown," *Providence Journal*, May 1, 1904, by Harry L. Koopman, librarian at Brown. See also *Quintus Horatius Flaccus* — editions in the United States and Canada as they appear in the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress, p. 4, item 41. To Professor E. K. Rand, who is so kind in remembering the interests of his former pupils, I am indebted for a note referring me to this book at Brown. The library number of the book is 1483-H78.

² Frederic M. Wheelock, "The Manuscript Tradition of Probus," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XLVI (1935), 89-91, 93. This will be referred to hereafter as Wheelock.

³ To the staff of the John Hay Library I am grateful for their courteous helpfulness in making the book available to me.

⁴ Those attributed to Leto are: 36, 43 (tergo), 132, 138, 150, 154, 160, 162, 166 (tergo), 167 (anche a tergo), 187 (in fine) e le simili.

⁵ E.g., "le piccole postille poi simili all'ultima della pag. 101 sono di Pomponio Leto."

of the first fly-leaf and near the top of the page; it concludes thus: "Roma dalla Biblioteca Vaticana li (*sic*) 13 Febbraio 1874. P. Martinucci secondo custode della Bibl. Vat." Pasted just below Martinucci's remarks is a sheet of correspondence paper covered with a scrawl that is certainly the next thing to illegible. Thanks, however, to the generous and patient help of Dean Mario E. Cosenza of Brooklyn College I am able to give the following plausible decipherment: "Convengo sull'autografia, conoscendo benissimo il carattere di Bernardo e Torquato Tasso, dei quali publicai autografi; di Pomponio non saprei. Ricordo di aver visti questi ed altri libri postillati presso il mio amicissimo (?) prof. Angelini, defunto da molti anni, in Roma. Egli era molto sofisticato e non comprava senz'aver prima fatto fare tutte le verifiche negli archivi del Vaticano. La celebre collezione di autografi e libri postillati di prof. Angelini passò presso il cav. Giancarlo Rossi, la quale ora si vende dall'esecutore testamentario Azzolini (?); il quale dice all'asta non per sè ma per fare aumentare i prezzi. Difficile trovare compratori di libri postillati, specie se non firmati! Ci badi! Augusto tesori! (Com. Lozzi Florella (?))." There remains to be mentioned a typewritten note pasted to the recto of the first fly-leaf. It begins with the name of a New York book dealer⁶ and the title of the incunabulum and then comments on the enhancing value of the marginalia by the Tassos and Leto, deriving the information apparently from Martinucci's note. In recapitulation let us recall that three of the authors of these notes unhesitatingly affirm that Leto wrote some of the marginalia; the fourth refuses to commit himself on the script of Leto but says that Angelini was careful to have verifications made at the Vatican.

Encouraged by the confidence of these men one might expect to turn forthwith to indisputable examples of Leto's script. For me, however, the quest proved disappointing. Even the passages definitely cited as in Leto's hand, while exhibiting some Pomponian characteristics, contain other forms not associated in my mind with Leto. This disturbing situation, however, is paralleled by that of

⁶ Martinus Nijhoff, 114 5th Avenue, New York City, and the Hague, Holland.

four manuscripts of Probus,⁷ where in each case famous names⁸ can be cited in conflict for or against the claim that Leto was the scribe. This disagreement extends also to *Vat. Lat. 3295*: de Nohac⁹ asserts it to be the work of Leto; Zabughin¹⁰ denies the assertion. Yet be it noted that those who disagree in one case may agree in another.¹¹

How, then, are we to recognize the hand of Leto? For, when scholars of great name take their stand on opposing sides, the conflict must be one not easy to resolve. The renown of Leto would naturally enhance the value of any text or marginalia written by his hand and the temptation to identify as Leto's a script exhibiting only some of his characteristics would be hard to resist, especially if one did not have at hand an authentic sample of Leto's writing and had to rely on memory. Vladimiro Zabughin, however, in his *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, Rome, 1909-1910, has been on the whole careful and conservative. This work must be the starting point for any paper like the present one and my vast debt to Zabughin's learned volumes will be patent to anybody familiar with them. The great difficulty in using them is that, unless one can be content to rely unquestioningly on the fine illustrations and their

⁷ See n. 2 above. The manuscripts are *Vat. Lat. 2930*, *Par. Lat. 8209*, *Vat. Lat. 3394*, and *Vat. Lat. 3255* respectively.

⁸ For instance the names of Fulvio Orsini, Brunn (and H. Keil), P. de Nohac, G. Thilo, A. Dal Zotto, V. Zabughin, R. Sabbadini, and Cardinal G. Mercati appear in one or more places.

⁹ P. de Nohac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887, p. 199: "Le 3295 . . . contient Martial avec quelques scholies de première main. Pomponius l'a exécuté. . . ." De Nohac's book will be referred to hereafter by his name. Incidentally, B. L. Ullman ("Poggio's Manuscripts of Livy," *Cl. Philol.* XXVIII (1933), 282) says that "Nohac's book is a very unsafe guide and his work needs to be done again."

¹⁰ V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, Rome, 1909-1910, I 207: "(*Vat. Lat. 3295* è) vergato indubbiamente da una mano di donna, e questa, se non ci traggono in inganno le sue sigle, non può essere che Nigella (Laeta)." Zabughin's work on Leto will hereafter be referred to as Zabughin.

¹¹ As, for instance, de Nohac and Zabughin in regarding *Vat. Lat. 3264*, *3279*, *3285*, *3302*, *3311* as the work of Leto. (See de Nohac, pp. 200-204; Zabughin, II, pp. 205-207, 225 *et passim*.)

brief titular statements that this or that is or is not Leto's script, one must scan many pages and notes to discover Zabughin's reasons for assigning a given manuscript to Leto's hand. Although he does provide abundant information invaluable for its details, these details are more commonly historical and literary; and his scattered remarks¹² on a few of Leto's scribal characteristics are not adequate for our needs. Our problem—and it is a recurrent one—requires a definite summary of the palaeographical criteria¹³ by which a person may with reasonable certainty determine whether or not an unsigned piece of writing is the work of Leto's hand. Specifically, to decide whether Leto really penned the marginalia claimed for him in Tasso's *Horace*, we must seek answers to the following questions:

1. What passages, if any, were undeniably written by Leto?
2. What distinguishing scribal traits can be labeled Pomponian?
3. What is at least the probable chronology of the Pomponian manuscripts?
4. Did any change occur in Leto's script during the period of his life represented by these manuscripts?

That many difficulties will confront us in the attempt to answer these questions Zabughin makes picturesquely clear when he says:¹⁴ "Il criterio paleografico è, confessiamolo, molto tenue, giacchè la selva dei codici pomponiani, privi di ferme e di date, sembra fatta apposta per lasciar scorrazzare senza freno la fantasia dei critici, per spingerli poi miseramente nelle reti delle proprie ipotesi." It is our good fortune, however, to have three dated or datable signatures of Leto wherewith to commence our study. These appear in a loan book¹⁵ of the Vatican Library and are reproduced in Plate I

¹² Since these will be incorporated into the text or the notes below, they need not be given here.

¹³ Perhaps Zabughin would say that, starting with the signatures of Leto, a person could draw up his own catalogue of criteria, but that would mean doing the task undertaken here.

¹⁴ I 207, where he is discussing the hand of *Vat. Lat. 3295*. Cf. II 208: "Leto, così aristocraticamente sdegnoso dell'umile abitudine di aporre date ai propri scritti."

¹⁵ *Vat. Lat. 3964* (*Libri bibliothecae S. D. N. Sixti commodo dati a Platyna Bibliothecario*), fol. 4V, 5R, and 18V respectively. See Zabughin I, pp. 147-148 and pl. III;

of this article.¹⁶ The first two¹⁷ were written in 1475; the third,¹⁸ in 1480. A careful study of the same letters and words¹⁹ in these signatures reveals that Leto's script of 1480 is really the same as that of 1475. For this period of his life, therefore, at least a partial catalogue of Leto's scribal traits can be drawn up. In some instances the forms are not noticeably different from those used by many other humanistic scribes; in other cases they exhibit characteristics peculiar to Leto. The following remarks refer to minuscules²⁰ unless capitals are specified.

a. (1) The more common form has a slender, oval loop followed by a rather pointed, abrupt down stroke which projects above the loop (e.g., initial and final *a* in *Platyna*). (2) A peculiar form which I shall call the *oi* variety appears medially in *Platyna*. (3) A starting stroke is frequently used.

b. There is nothing particularly distinctive about Leto's *b*; at

E. Müntz et P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 48)*, Paris 1887, pp. 269-283.

¹⁶ Cardinal Mercati kindly had made for me photostatic copies of these and other items which I requested and even added some selections of his own.

¹⁷ The first reads: "Ego Pomponius accepi librum historiae Gasparis Veronensis de rebus gestis per Paulum. ex membranis in rubeo sine tabulis. die VII octobris 1475." Although neither Zabughin nor Müntz-Fabre comment on the script of the fourth line, I believe that it was written by Platyna (cf. his date in Zabughin, I, pl. V). This fact, however, does not in the least impair the value of this date; for, according to the date under the title of the book, *Vat. Lat. 3964* was put into use "pridie kal. martii 1475" (Müntz-Fabre, p. 269), and entries following this one of Leto also bear the date of 1475.

The second reads: "Pomponius accepi Bella Civilia Appiani in papiro: V cal. decembres." The year 1475 is in this case certified by the very next entry which bears the date "XVIII decembris 1475."

¹⁸ This must have been written between Jan. 8, 1480, and April 24, 1480, the respective dates of the entries which immediately precede and follow this one by Leto. According to Müntz-Fabre (p. 283) this reads: "Accepi a Platyna ego Pomponius librum qui est de nominibus paparum in quo non est neque os neque ω: est VII quinternionum sine tabulis." Zabughin (I, p. 326, n. 430) is certainly right in correcting their reading *os* to *α*.

¹⁹ *Ego; accepi; sine; est* in signature 3 and *-ist* or *-est* in *hist.* and *gestis* of signature 1.

²⁰ I shall disregard the fourth line of signature 1 for the reason given above in n. 17.

the top of the straight stroke the finial, whether hook-shaped or club-shaped, turns to the left.

c. (1) A rounded variety appears in *accepi* and *cal*. (2) An angular variety with straight vertical and horizontal strokes appears in *accepi* of the third signature. Note that the vertical stroke has a finial.

d. (1) The straight *d* (as in *de* of signature 1) is common in the 15th century. (2) The Greek *d* (as in *deceb*. of signature 2 and *de* of signature 3) is noteworthy. The tall stroke may lack a finial or have one which turns to the right. (3) Both types may have a starting stroke above the loop.

e. (1) Leto's *e* normally has a straight back which ends in a very pronounced finial curving to the right. At times the back stroke begins with a starting stroke. The second *est* of signature 3 illustrates both points. The loop is oval and sometimes ends with a finishing stroke (*de* in signatures 1 and 3). (2) Uncial *e* is an interesting peculiarity in Leto's script. It is used no less as a minuscule (*sine*, signature 3) than as a capital (*Ego*, signature 1).

f. This letter does not occur in these signatures.

g. It is impossible to overemphasize the fact that *only* the open, uncial type of *g* is found here. It is used for the capital and the small letter alike. Of the four occurrences of the letter two (*Gasparis*, *gestis*) have noticeably elongated loops which tower above the short letters and which have at the top a starting stroke or loop; two (*ego* in signatures 1 and 3) have smaller, oval loops more nearly the size of the shorter letters. In all four the bottom of the loop rests on the line of the other letters.

h. Attention should be directed to the curving stroke, which drops below the line and ends directly under the vertical stroke.

i. This letter shows no peculiar traits; it usually begins with a stroke to the left at the top and may or may not end with a stroke to the right at the bottom.

l. This letter frequently has a finial at the top, a rather sharp hook that turns to the left. At the lower end it regularly has another. This turns to the right and is sometimes prolonged so that it resembles the lower stroke of an *L* (*lib.*, signature 1; *platyna*, signature 3).

m and n. In these two letters perhaps the only noteworthy de-

tail is that, when isolated or final, they generally have no finial or they have one so insignificant as scarcely to deserve the name.

o. The left side of the *o* is usually straight with sometimes a starting stroke at the upper part; the bottom is apt to be somewhat angular; the top is well closed. Occasionally a well rounded form appears (*quo*, signature 3).

p. This is a nondescript letter in Leto's hand. When it does have finials they regularly turn to the left.

q. Note the starting stroke above the loop and the projection of the vertical stroke above the loop.

r. The *r* with the throat well closed calls for no analysis. Attention ought rather to be centered on the deep-throated form, which at times is so open as to approach the shape of our printed *v* (*papiro*, signature 2; *librum*, signature 3).

s. (1) The serpentine form of *s* will repay study. Its upper curve, usually well rounded, reminds one of the letter *c*; its lower curve, abrupt and angular, drops noticeably below the line (*Gasparis*, signature 1; *tabulis*, signature 3). (2) Although the elongated form of *s* itself shows no striking peculiarities, the ligature *si* is worth observing (*sine*, signatures 1 and 3).

t. (1) Note that, in writing the ordinary *t*, Leto always lifts his pen clear of the paper when he has completed the vertical stroke and then adds the cross-stroke as a distinctly separate element, the greater part of which, to be sure, may appear to the right of the vertical stroke. (2) The figure-7 form of *t* in *tabulis* (signature 1), however, is noteworthy whether it be regarded as a capital or a small letter.

u and x. These letters require no comment.

y. It may be worth noting that the long stroke of the letter has a finial turning to the left at both ends of the stroke.

α. The peculiar *os*²¹ form of alpha will prove important.

-R̄. In the third signature the symbol for *-rum* occurs twice.²² The form should be carefully noted.

-b: and **-q:.** Leto uses *-b:* in signature 1 and *-q:* in signature 3 for *-bus* and *-que* respectively.²³

²¹ Cf. n. 18 above.

²² Certainly in *PapaR̄* and doubtless also in the form that stands deleted in *quinternionum*.

²³ The other abbreviations in these signatures require no special notice.

Now we may consider the fourth illustration in Plate I. A student in a hand quite different from Leto's appended to a funeral oration²⁴ which he had just written a note²⁵ addressed to Leto thus: "Pomponi pater optime feci quod potui et ea celeritate ut ne postea quidem relegerim. Quare cum ego discipuli tu praeceptoris officium age. Remitte quanto citius tanto melius." Just below this request and at right angles to it we read: "Omnia circumcise et eleganter." These words, though unaccompanied by any name, would naturally be regarded as Leto's reply; and such an assumption becomes a certainty when we observe that the script shows such demonstrably Pomponian traits as open *g*, uncial *e*, deep-throated *r*. This, then, raises the number of signatures to four, and is valuable because it adds to our list of Pomponian characteristics *R* used as a final *r* and a peculiar form of ampersand, which from its shape may be called the *oe*-type. Furthermore, since this funeral address is dated by de Rossi²⁶ between 1484 and 1490, we have 1484 as the earliest possible date for this bit of Pomponian writing. Thus we can build on the foundation of dated samples of Leto's script covering approximately a decade (1475-1484).

Although these passages are very instructive, nevertheless, because of their brevity, one cannot expect them to illustrate all the scribal habits of Leto. If, however, we find a manuscript which shows the above-mentioned peculiarities so convincingly that it must have been written by Leto, then we can reasonably say that any further characteristics appearing in it are those of Leto's script.

A good passage to meet such requirements is the text of Probus in *Vat. Lat. 3394*²⁷ (fol. 35R-39R, of which I have photostatic copies). I have chosen fol. 39R as an illustration²⁸ for this article because it is one of the best preserved pages and because it contains practically all the important Pomponian characteristics as well as a few exceptional forms.

²⁴ In *Vat. Lat. 3394*. Zabughin, II 182, says: "... l'elogio funebre di Girolamo Altieri, pubblicato in parte dal de-Rossi e da lui collocato tra il 1484 ed il 1490, è di mano, se non erro, di Partenio Pallini, ma riveduto e corretto da Pomponio." See also de Nohac, p. 206.

²⁵ Written on fol. 48V of *Vat. Lat. 3394*.

²⁶ See n. 24 above.

²⁷ Cf. Wheelock, p. 91, and Zabughin, II 182.

²⁸ Plate II A.

First, that the reader may convince himself that these folia were written by Leto's own hand, let him compare one by one the letters and symbols of the illustration²⁹ with those of the signatures as described above.

a. Line 1, for example, contains the regular Pomponian *a*'s together with one of the *oi*-variety.

d. Both the straight *d* and the Greek *d* are found, frequently with starting strokes.

e. The uncial *e* used as a minuscule (*eius*, 17; *ea*, 28) appears side by side with the regular *e* as characterized above.

f. See below.

g. The many *g*'s, whether elongated (*figuras*, 1) or oval (*rege*, 4), are *all* of the Pomponian open, uncial type.³⁰ Frequently a starting stroke appears at the top of the loop and regularly³¹ the bottom of the loop rests on the line.

h. Among the many *h*'s of the signature type (*thracum*, 11) an occasional variant (*nymphae*, 13) in which the curving stroke does not drop below the line need not disturb us.

i. Together with Leto's regular *l* there is also found the variety with the pronounced lower finial³² (*litus*, 8; *lanificii*, 27).

q. The *q*'s are generally like those of the signatures. Once in the illustration (*itemque*, 18) and occasionally in the rest of the Proban section you will see a minuscule form with an oval body and a tail curving to the right. This form is limited to *-que*.

r. The peculiar deep-throated *r*'s abound; not often does one see such forms as those in *furibus* (18) and *iuppr* (22).

s. The serpentine *s*'s usually drop abruptly below the line as in

²⁹ The omission of any forms from the following discussion simply means that they are the same as those in the signatures and are not distinctive enough to warrant further consideration.

³⁰ To be sure, it can be pointed out that the *g*'s in *gens* (5) and *significatur* (21) are almost closed; but they are not *really* closed nor are they fundamentally different from the forms in *rege* (4) or *Taygete* (19). Having checked all the nearly innumerable *g*'s in these nine pages of *Vat. Lat. 3394*, I can only report eight or ten similar to the two under discussion.

³¹ Occasional *g*'s like that in *saligna* (14) are hardly exceptions to this rule. In all the nine pages the only real exception occurs in *frigi* (30), where it is probably explainable on the grounds of crowding at the end of a line.

³² These are often, but not always, initial.

the signatures.³³ The ligatured *si* in *rhesi* (2) and *Arsia* (4) duplicates that in *sine* of the signatures.

t. The peculiar figure-7 *t* is used as a minuscule in *totum* (21).

u. Besides the regular *u* there occasionally appears a v-shaped form (*venerare*, 12).

α. The similarity between the alphas in the marginalia (especially in *ταυτέτη*) and the one in signature 3 is very impressive.³⁴

-b: . The ending *-bus* is abbreviated some thirteen times in the nine pages and *-b:* (*furibus*, 18), found in signature 1, is the only form used.

-q: . Although *-que* is abbreviated twenty-one times, *-q:* (*Altaq:*, 1) is the only³⁵ form used, just as in the signatures.

-R̄. Good examples of the Pomponian abbreviation for *-rum* can be seen in lines 13 and 19. Although *-rum* is abbreviated at least thirty times, the symbol used in every case is *-R̄*.³⁶ This would seem to be a valuable test form.

&. Ampersand occurs sixty-seven times in these nine pages. In fifty-eight of these places the scribe has used the *oe*-form already noted above in the fourth signature and frequently illustrated in Plate II A (lines 2, 4, etc.). There are also seven occurrences of the slightly variant form seen at the end of line 1. Here to the fundamental *oe*-form the scribe has added a medial finishing stroke on the right in such a way that it seems like an appendage rather than an essential part of the design;³⁷ but for our purposes these symbols with or without the stroke can be regarded as the same in the basic form of their peculiar pattern. A different type, however, does occur in two places. This is the common 15th century form in which the lower part of the lower loop is extended upwards to form the stem of the inverted *t* in the ligatured *et* (&). Since there

³³ Cf. *opus* (last word on fol. 39R) and *tabulis* (last word of signature 3).

³⁴ Similarly on fol. 36R of *Vat. Lat. 3394* there is an omega which duplicates that of the signature except for the lack of the second finial.

³⁵ To my mind the forms *-q:* and *-Q:* are essentially the same, especially when compared with such forms as *-q̄*.

³⁶ Yet the form *-R̄* is common in the 15th century.

³⁷ Whether there is a hint of such a stroke in the ampersand of signature 4 I cannot be certain. It makes little difference since the peculiar *oe* part remains the same.

are only two of these, they cannot be taken as characteristic.

Having demonstrated that Leto wrote these folia of *Vat. Lat. 3394*, we may add to our catalogue letters or significant abbreviations which do not occur in the signatures.

f. The rather long, heavy, closed loop which is so characteristic of Leto's letter³⁸ is well illustrated in *figuras* (1). The vertical stroke frequently begins with a starting stroke (*facilis*, 12) and ends in a finial that is clubbed or turns to the left. Occasionally, though not in Plate II A, Leto makes a minuscule *f* which resembles our printed *F* with the horizontal strokes crossing the vertical one.

ę. The only form of the digraph *ae* in these pages is *e* with a subscript hook open on the right side (*edonię*, 4).

est. Leto more often spells *est* in full. Occasionally he abbreviates it to *ē* but he never uses the symbol *.\`* even in marginalia.

-tur. The only abbreviation of *-tur* is *t* with a suprascript wavy line as in *dicitur* (7) and *existimatur* (9). This form differs decidedly from that of the figure-2 variety.

Capital letters, so scantily represented in the signatures, can be supplied from the same nine folia of *Vat. Lat. 3394*. Whenever a capital is illustrated in Plate II A, that fact will be stated.

A. *A* (see lines 1 and 4) is a tall, slender letter the left leg of which tends to be slightly longer than the right. The nondescript finials are dots or dot-like strokes which shoot off to the left and the right respectively.

B. In making his *B*'s, Leto apparently drew a sort of *L* and then completed the letter with a couple of curves, the lower being the larger. The line between the two curves does not join the vertical stroke at right angles but slopes down to it. Frequently the vertical stroke and the upper loop project beyond each other.

C. Two traits characterize Leto's *C* (ll. 11 and 19): first, the loop effect at the top of the letter caused by the starting stroke; second, the angularity at the bottom of the letter.

D. Again Leto starts with an *L* and then completes the capital with a sweeping curve the upper part of which projects noticeably beyond the vertical stroke.

³⁸ Such a form as that in *inferos* (10) is decidedly exceptional.

E. (1) Leto makes a ragged *E* (ll. 12 and 13) of the square variety, allowing the three heavy horizontal bars slightly to cross the slender vertical stroke and the vertical to project above the highest horizontal. (2) He also uses an uncial capital (*Eridanus*, 31) like that of the signatures with a starting stroke which gives a loop effect at the top.

F. Here the slender vertical stroke drops below the line and usually ends in a finial that turns to the left. The two horizontal bars are heavy; the upper one projects noticeably to the left of the vertical stroke and the lower one crosses it slightly.

G. Here, as in the signatures, we find no real distinction between capital and small *g*.

H. Leto makes a square *H* (l. 14) the vertical strokes of which end in rather nondescript finials.

I. The slender, vertical stroke of *I* extends below the line (ll. 17, 18, *passim*). Regularly there is a finial at both ends and it turns to the left. The upper one, definitely the larger, is normally angular and flag-like; the lower one, a diminutive curve or dot.

L. The *L* (*Latine*, 6) does not differ essentially from the capital-like minuscule referred to above. The tall, slender vertical stroke commonly has at the top an angular finial turning to the left. The horizontal stroke is heavy and may slant upward a little.

M. The *M* (ll. 6 and 7) is not a particularly distinctive letter. The second stroke tends to be the heaviest of the four. The second peak is ordinarily higher than the first so that the whole letter slants downward to the left. The finials are nondescript.

N. Here it suffices to point out that the oblique stroke is noticeably heavier than the vertical ones (ll. 11 and 13). The usage of finials varies.

O. The capital reproduces the form of the minuscule (l. 10).

P. The slender vertical stroke (l. 2) usually drops below the line and ends in a finial which commonly turns abruptly to the right. At the upper end of the letter the vertical and the curving strokes overshoot each other.

Q. The capital is an enlarged duplicate of the minuscule seen in *itemque* (l. 18).

R. The slender, vertical stroke does not drop below the line

~~Gonçalves recepit de~~
~~utroque de rebus Gonçali & p[er]m[ission]e.~~
~~Ex mente mirabile sine tabulat.~~
~~duo m[en]s. octobris 1775~~

~~habuit~~ ~~Temporibus~~ ~~apparet~~ ~~in~~ ~~apertis~~ ~~al~~

~~Repetere a pluma (to person)
 librum qui est de ...
 19 na ...
 20 ...
 d. uis:~~

Omnia curat &
Eleganter

in omnes figuras conuerteret. Aliaq. panthei &
 rhesi maioria velly. panthei moni est & rho
 dope thracis. Rhesi celus thracia que prius dic
 ta est Arsa ab Arso rege pre thracis & eorum
 aquo Thracia dicta est. et quidam gen est
 Edonia Latine aut misit. Arsa Montia su
 maioria. Maior aut dicit magna uertens del.
 Tenares & fauces Tenares est lacumets Lepus
 quo specus est per quem hercules exstimaet de
 disse ad inferos. & Orpheus. Spereis euonum
 quo inuade mris. Cumes diuinitas mris in qua
 oppidum est ymoris. Et facies videret napeu
 diapige sunt nympha aruor. Et Custos furu
 ara. Animum cum face saligna. Hellespontiaci str
 ut Trucula priapi. Inhellesponto est lampyracum
 opidum in quo priapus formosus di. ee. quia ci
 uis tui uoluit ut dum is aut in horto pomeur.
 ut auibus formidini sit tene. noctu furu. et in
 terdum Custos uidetur stare. Taygetus uersu
 ostendit sidus Synodochicos una ex his hoc uoit
 appellatur. Equa totum astrum significat pleiades.
 qui cum hac uippe concubuit in monte qui ex euen.
 tu Taygetos dicitur In uisa minoris

apno. nos.
 mans.
 apno. n. apno.
 martius

Taugetu. no.
 taugetu. no.
 illa amara apona
 hoc mons est:

aranea
 meta thracia dicitur minoris donasse regiam
 puellam ex captius noie Armenen que sub
 fuit opif lampyr regauit se ceteri minoris: ob
 hoc in araneam ab ea conuersa est. & hec Aranea
 uocatur. Metonum huius ptem dicit quia ludra
 in forma appellatur. Taurino cornua uulsi frigi
 Eridani sunt padus & idio Taurino uultu & eius
 sonus ut Tauri musus dicit flexuosus ut cornu sua.

pro folium & Mutu opus.

A

B

dm. voluntas mea est. in concilium impiorum & in uia peccatorum. non statit: & in Tagidore
 restituitur non sedit. Sed in iudea dm voluntas eius & in
 lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte. Et erit tunc lignum quod
 plantatum est. stans de uero aqua. & fructum suum dabit uix
 in tpe suo. Et solum eius non deficiet. & oia quae uis: facit

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

(ll. 2 and 3); the finial usage varies somewhat. At the upper end the curving stroke overshoots the vertical. The second leg flings itself out behind and ends in an upward flourish so that the whole letter seems to be running to the left.

S. One would characterize this as a rather angular form the lower curve of which is larger than the upper (l. 20).

T. Practically without exception in these nine pages Leto makes the figure-7 form of *T* seen in line 8. The horizontal stroke is broad; the vertical, thin and with a nondescript finial which usually turns to the left.

U. The *U* has the form of our *V* (l. 19).

In addition to the definition of the shapes of the letters we must attempt also the more difficult definition of the spirit of the script, the general impression made by it as one glances down the page. While these Proban folia of *Vat. Lat. 3394* were probably not written for an edition *de luxe*, the script is, nevertheless, clear, regular, and firm³⁹ and the individual letters are generously proportioned and well spaced. The slight slant to the right does not impair the strength of this hand, perhaps in part because the shading is horizontal⁴⁰ rather than vertical. If this is not the most elegant script of the period, yet, when compared with the weaker or positively crabbed hands, it deserves the term monumental. And does not this very quality show itself in the signatures, particularly the third and the fourth?

Although we can now say that we have a reasonably complete list of scribal criteria for Leto covering at least the period 1475-1484,⁴¹ there is still room for the contention that in an earlier or a later period Leto may have formed one letter or another somewhat differently. The difficulty of answering such a contention comes from the lack of dated and signed material,⁴² but the investigation should be undertaken in order to have as extensive

³⁹ Note that even the marginalia merit the same adjectives.

⁴⁰ As if the pen were held so that the broad part of the point formed an acute angle to the line.

⁴¹ I.e., the period of the signatures. Frankly the exact date of the fol. 35R-39R in *Vat. Lat. 3394* is not known. Zabughin (II 182) conjectures that it may be of the same period as the Mazzatosta series, i.e., the early 1470's.

⁴² See p. 102 above.

evidence as possible for the ultimate decision concerning Tasso's Horace. The task is, then, to pass in review such additional works as are clearly in Leto's hand⁴³ and can be dated with some degree of probability. In this rapid survey only the important test-letters and symbols will receive attention; those not mentioned will resemble Leto's forms.

In *Vat. Lat. 3233* survives a two-page fragment⁴⁴ of a "mattutino Pasquale" which Zabughin says was without doubt copied by Leto in prison. That limits the date to the period extending from his arrest in 1468 to his release in 1469. No one who has studied the material given above can fail to recognize in Zabughin's illustration the familiar Pomponian characteristics: the *oi*-form of *a*; both the regular and the uncial *e*; the closed *f*; the Pomponian *g*, always open; the deep-throated *r*; the serpentine *s* dropping below the line; *-q*·, *-R*·, and *ε*, the only form of the abbreviations; the form of *-tur* mentioned above on p. 109; etc. The numerous occurrences of ampersand are all of the *oe*-variety, with the additional finishing stroke⁴⁵ in many cases. Certainly this script deserves the term monumental. This "mattutino Pasquale" proves Leto's hand of 1469 the same as that of the signatures. Incidentally, it also adds the use of *θ* for *th*,⁴⁶ as in *cabedra*.

To the period right after Leto's imprisonment Zabughin assigns⁴⁷ the Ciceronian sections of *Vat. Lat. 3233*. Again the study of test-letters leaves no doubt that Leto wrote the text and marginalia illustrated in Plate II of Zabughin's second volume.⁴⁸ Note par-

⁴³ Here I shall rely primarily on my own criteria while naturally paying heed to the opinions of others.

For the chronology I shall rely on Zabughin's researches, which regularly depend on details literary and biographical.

⁴⁴ Illustrated in Zab. I, pl. IV, of which five lines are reproduced here in pl. II B. See also Zab. I 147.

⁴⁵ See p. 108 above.

⁴⁶ Commenting on the Ovid in *Vat. Lat. 3263*, Zabughin says (II 147): "Aggiungeremo una volta per tutte, che ne' chirografi del secondo periodo, compreso l'Ovidio, è di rigore il *-θ-* al posto, ove normalmente starebbe *-th-*, bizzaria grafica, scrupolosamente osservata."

⁴⁷ On the basis of Leto's imperfect knowledge of Greek here shown. See Zab. II 8 f.

⁴⁸ See also Zab. II, pl. VIII.

ticularly that all the *g*'s are open; that -*R* is the only form of the -*rum* abbreviation; that the numerous ampersands are all of the *oe*-type. Finally, although space is at a premium in the closely written marginalia, Leto spells *est* in full;⁴⁹ he never uses the symbol .\`.

To the same period as *Vat. Lat.* 3233 belongs *Vat. Lat.* 3229.⁵⁰ The text is by a number of hands, one of which, clearly not Leto's and yet in some details suggestive of Leto's, Zabughin has illustrated in Vol. I, Plate II, and Vol. II, Plate VIII (lower part). The marginalia, however, certainly came from Leto's pen.

Likewise, the marginalia of Plate III A in this article, belonging to the same manuscript, were written by Leto. But whether the text, which at first glance resembles that of Plate II A, is really the work of Leto's hand one might hesitate to say without an analysis of the more important letters.⁵¹ The *a*'s, for instance, though similar to Leto's, have loops too consistently oval and pointed at the top and there is really no exact reproduction of his *oi*-form.⁵² Similarly the loop of the *f* is not so pronounced or so firmly closed as in the Pomponian form. The horizontal stroke at the bottom of the minuscule *l* frequently differs from Leto's in extending noticeably on both sides of the vertical stroke. Here, too, the throats of all the *r*'s are carefully closed, while all the passages by Leto up to this point have had many deep-throated *r*'s. The serpentine *s* does not drop below the line. The capital letters in general reveal a spirit not Pomponian in the length and heaviness of their horizontal strokes and finials. Of the abbreviations important for us the only one which I have seen⁵³ is that of -*que*, and the symbol is -*q*₃, a form which has never yet appeared in passages clearly by Leto. Such differences as these prompt my con-

⁴⁹ Once he abbreviates *esse* to *ēē*.

⁵⁰ Zab. II, pp. 9 and 13. I have studied also a further example (fol. 153R) sent me by Cardinal Mercati.

⁵¹ See also Zab. II, pl. III for a full column by this hand and marginalia in Leto's hand. My statistics refer to this plate in Zab. and to fol. 27R, of which I have a fine photostatic copy from Cardinal Mercati.

⁵² The *a* of *ingratus* (Zab. II, pl. III) approximates Leto's peculiar form but does not duplicate it.

⁵³ It is on fol. 27R.

currence with Zabughin's statement that this text is the work not of Leto but of an amanuensis.⁵⁴

The crucial test, however, is the formation of *g*. In this text occurs the figure-8 *g*,⁵⁵ a type which is common enough elsewhere in 15th century script but which heretofore has not appeared in writing demonstrably by Leto. Furthermore, intermingled with these we see about the same number⁵⁶ of open *g*'s. If the reader will take time to analyze them, however, their mere openness will not lead him to a hasty conclusion about Pomponian scribeship. For not one of these six forms has the starting stroke so common, though not universal, in Leto's *g*'s; and three of them end in a dot final alien to Leto's letter. Even more significant is the fact that in all six cases the loops prove very diminutive when compared with Leto's, and they do not, like his, rest on the line but are lifted well above it atop their tall, straight stems.⁵⁷ Then, too, one can see a *g* almost identical with those under discussion in a passage⁵⁸ obviously written neither by Leto nor by the scribe of the present text. In *Parisinus B. N. Lat. 8209*, a 15th cen. manuscript,⁵⁹ an intermixture of both types of *g* appears in a hand like Leto's but not Leto's. Similarly, Angelo Politian⁶⁰ employs both the uncial and the figure-8 *g*'s as minuscules. Enough citations have been made to show that Leto was not the only one to use the open *g*; that a *g* may be open without being Pomponian in form; that the open *g* is very often found in the company of the figure-8 variety, although so far in our study passages demonstra-

⁵⁴ See his title, Vol. II, pl. III.

⁵⁵ The shape is that of our printed minuscule. There are seven occurrences of this *g* in the two pages. See pl. III A.

⁵⁶ Actually six in the same two pages. See pl. III A.

⁵⁷ In all honesty I must call attention to the similarity between these letters and the *g* in *frigi*, l. 30 of pl. II A of this article. At the same time, I must repeat that of the many, many *g*'s in those nine Pomponian pages it is the only one of its kind (see notes 30, 31 above).

⁵⁸ Zab. I, pl. VI, *tetigere* in the fifth line from the bottom of the page.

⁵⁹ For a convenient illustration of fol. 1R and 1V see E. K. Rand, *In Quest of Virgil's Birthplace*, fig. 112, where open *g*'s abound and figure-8 *g*'s can be found in l. 10 of fol. 1R and the last line of 1V. Cf. also Wheelock, p. 90.

⁶⁰ For instance in annotations in Bussi's *Virgilii Opera* at the National Library, Paris, marked *Réserve g*, Y, c, 236. See Wheelock, p. 93.

bly Pomponian have contained only the open kind. Therefore, the mere presence of an open *g* is far from sufficient to prove Leto the scribe of the passage and, *vice versa*, we should expect to find only the open *g* in Leto's script.

The final problem in this regard comprises important statements by Zabughin. He starts with the observation that one of Leto's students writing in *Vat. Lat. 3415* sometimes affected the open *g*⁶¹ but that his open *g* cannot deceive us long.⁶² Then he immediately startles us with the nonchalant remark that anyhow at times even Pomponio did not make his *g*'s open⁶³ and refers the reader to Plate V and page 4 with its note 13, which certainly should be interpreted as containing support for his remark.

Let us begin with Plate V of Volume II:

(1) Zabughin entitles this plate "Discepolo e Leto" and says that a person need only glance at it to convince himself that *Vat. Lat. 3255*, though not an autograph (i.e., in its text), was in part annotated by Leto's hand.⁶⁴ Surely one would expect to see here Leto's familiar open *g* and other characteristics.

⁶¹ He apparently refers to such a form as that in *Carthaginensis* (Zab. II, pl. VII, in margin of upper central section). In the photographs of fol. 9R and 44R entire, sent me by Cardinal Mercati, I find only one example of this open *g* amid a horde of the figure-8 variety. Further juxtaposition of both types appears in the topmost of the marginalia of Zab. II, pl. VI, written by m.3 of *Vat. Lat. 3415*.

⁶² Zabughin (II 112-113), referring to *Vat. Lat. 3415*, says: "Le lezioni dell'umanista furono raccolte da parecchi studenti. . . . Questa prima mano potè facilmente sconcertare il de-Nolhac. Essa si compiace talvolta ad imitare il tipico 'g aperto' del Leto ed ostenta una non sempre riescita contraffazione di vari suoi capricci calligrafici (4)." Zabughin's note 4 (on p. 316) reads: "Tav. VI e VII. La maniera del Leto viene adombrata negli E, T, F. L'istesso g aperto, però, non può ingannare a lungo; del resto anche Pomponio talvolta ne faceva a meno: cf. tav. V, pag. 4 e not. 13."

⁶³ His actual words are included in their proper place at the end of the preceding note. I thank Dean Cosenza for verifying my interpretation of these words.

⁶⁴ II 69: "Comunque basta dare uno sguardo alla nostra tavola V per convincersi che il *Vat. lat. 3255*, pur non autografo . . . , fu in parte annotato di mano del Leto." It is to Zabughin's credit that he does not follow Carini, de Nolhac, and Fulvio Orsini in claiming the text to have been written by Leto. Incidentally, I would warn the reader that in the plate at the end of his *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887, de Nolhac includes a few lines from the text of this MS and concerning them says: "fac-simile de l'écriture de Pomponius Laetus."

(2) Commenting on the possibility of Leto's having revised the marginalia of *Vat. Lat. 2769* and on his typical open *g*, Zabughin says:⁶⁵ "Nelle minuscole questo *g* è chiuso come, d'altronde, spesse volte nel *Vat. lat. 3255*, glosse autografe."

(3) Combining (1) and (2) we should expect at least the note *Chaones-mortales* to be in Leto's hand because it contains the only open *g*⁶⁶ (*glande*) and also a closed *g* (*uirgilio*). At any rate, it is as nearly Pomponian as any of them.

(4) My notes taken when I inspected this manuscript at the Vatican Library in 1934 say that this note is in red ink (like those beginning with *Egyptii* and *Achelous*; those beginning with *Apollo* and *Regis* being in green, like the text).

(5) But Zabughin (II, note 381, p. 291) informs us: "*Pomponio non toccò il testo*, vergato 11-6v con inchiostro verdognolo, indi nero, da una mano a due riprese. A Emilio può andare attribuita parte delle note nere (*le rosse sono tutte del copista del testo*)."⁶⁷ Therefore, according to Zabughin *Chaones-mortales* is not in Leto's hand! And my own independent study leads me to conclude that, although in some respects the script is similar to Leto's, it is not his⁶⁸ but is fundamentally the same as that of the green notes and the text both above and below the illumination. In fine, Zabughin has failed to convince me that here we have found Leto mixing the two types of *g*.

It remains to discuss *Vat. Lat. 2769*, of which Zabughin says (II, p. 1): "... scritto ed annotato da Calcidio prima del luglio 1466, trasformato e fornito di un secondo commento per opera di Pomponio, non sappiamo quando, ma probabilmente pochi anni più tardi." Again (II, p. 4): "(Leto) invasi (i margini) con una graffia

⁶⁵ II, n. 13 on pp. 242-243.

⁶⁶ Actually this is not particularly Pomponian in character. The part of the note referred to, together with the accompanying text, I have reproduced from Zabughin as excerpt B in pl. III.

⁶⁷ The italics are mine.

⁶⁸ Note, for example, ** for *est* (cf. pp. 109 and 113 above); & instead of the Pomponian *oe*-type; an un-Pomponian abbreviation stroke in *-tur*; the frequent absence of any finial at the bottom of *e*; a *t* the cross stroke of which is often added without raising the pen from the paper. For most of these peculiarities consult Zab. II, pl. V; see also Zab. II, pl. VI. Perhaps the most convincing exercise is to compare these plates with those of the Mazzatosta editions *de luxe* to be discussed below.

minuta e placida, che offre molti punti di contatto con quella delle glosse autografe ne' codici di lusso." But later (II, n. 13, pp. 242-243) he writes with somewhat less confidence: "Tentennai a lungo, prima di riconoscervi la mano di Leto; fui però convinto, anzitutto, dal tipico *g* aperto dell'umanista. . . ;⁶⁹ nelle minuscole questo *g* è chiuso come, d'altronde, spesse volte nel Vat. lat. 3255, glosse autografe. Inoltre, anche che volesse negare l'identità della graffia del secondo commento orazione con quella di Pomponio, dovrà riconoscere la validità della prove intrinseche. Se la mano non è del Leto, le glosse sono o dettate da lui, o trascritte da un suo chirografo." Zabughin does not tell us by what criteria, aside from the open *g*, he judged these second marginalia to be in Leto's hand, but had he drawn up a list of un-Pomponian characteristics, it would have contained such significant items⁷⁰ as *a* which, quite unlike Leto's, usually has its loop filled in; *e* the straight back of which lacks a finial at the bottom; a second variety of *e* the back of which is a sweeping curve and the loop of which has been reduced to a mere dot; *o* frequently open at the top, ampersand⁷¹ always in the form of figure-2 or *z*; *-rum* represented twice by *-r*✕, never by *-R*; a decidedly un-Pomponian stroke in the abbreviation of *-tur*. These, corroborated by many minor differences, make it most unlikely that the hand which wrote thus soon after 1466 could have altered its style so completely as to have written in the style of the "mattutino Pasquale" not more than three years later.⁷² Therefore, Zabughin has again failed to prove that Leto mixes the two kinds of *g*'s! In fact, with one exception all the *g*'s of my three folia are what might be called a scrawly figure-8 variety (with the top loop sometimes open in the fashion of a *u*) utterly unlike Leto's; the one exception,⁷³ *Gesta* (27V), has an open *capital g* which is not strikingly Pomponian.

⁶⁹ Here he refers to fol. 34V (*greges*); 27V (*gesta*); 24V.

⁷⁰ I draw these from photographs of fol. 26V, 27V and 34V, sent to me by Cardinal Mercati. Two excerpts from fol. 27V are given in pl. III C; they illustrate most of the items mentioned.

⁷¹ There is a total of at least sixteen occurrences of ampersand in these three pages and *all* are of this positively un-Pomponian variety.

⁷² Even if allowance be made for the cramped nature of the marginalia.

⁷³ See the second part of pl. III C. The first part of the same also has *gesta* with the other type of *g*. I fail to find *greges* on fol. 34V.

Here, then, in three hands which show some Pomponian characteristics open and closed *g*'s are intermixed to a greater or less degree, but these hands are not thoroughly Pomponian according to our present criteria. Consequently, until we find decisive evidence to the contrary, we can fairly proceed on the assumption that Leto used *only*⁷⁴ the open variety.

Before leaving *Vat. Lat. 3229* I should say a word about fol. 1R-3R. Although these are clearly⁷⁵ in the hand of Leto, they contain, besides the regular Pomponian ampersand, a new form which looks much like the arabic *6* and *c* written as a digraph. Since these folia are so clearly Pomponian, we need feel no hesitation in adding this symbol to the list of criteria.

To the elegant Mazzatosta codices, editions *de luxe* made for a wealthy pupil of Leto's, Zabughin devotes many pages of research and learned observation.⁷⁶ He gives good reasons⁷⁷ for assigning to *Vat. Lat. 3285* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*) the date 1469-70 and to *Vat. Lat. 3279* (Statius, *Thebaid*) the date 1470-71. To this same general period belong the rest of the series: *Vat. Lat. 3264* (Ovid, *Fasti*), 3302 (Silius Italicus), and 3295 (Martial).⁷⁸

The hand of the Lucan can be studied in Plate 50 of Ehrle and Liebaert's *Specimina Codicum Latinorum*, Berlin, 1932.⁷⁹ One should keep in mind that, since the scribe is here writing his elegant best in an edition *de luxe*, he will show greater care and regularity in the formation of the letters and greater concern for the appearance of the page than he would in an ordinary book. Thus, in place of the long rangy *g*'s which we have frequently encountered

⁷⁴ The *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXVI, p. 46, s.v. *Paleografia* says: "Nella umanistica (scrittura) di Pomponio Leto si ha la *G* onciale." It does not say, however, that Leto used *only* the uncial *g*.

⁷⁵ I base my decision on my notes made at the Vatican and on a photostatic copy of fol. 3R. See pl. III D. Incidentally, though the alphas here differ from that of the signature, they can be matched by occasional forms in other Pomponian manuscripts such as *Vat. Lat. 3263*.

⁷⁶ II 18-27.

⁷⁷ II 25-26. On pp. 26-27 he refutes de Nohac's earlier date.

⁷⁸ On this last see Zab. I 207-208 and de Nohac, pp. 199-200.

⁷⁹ This same page is also reproduced from Ehrle and Liebaert in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, s.v. *Palaeografia*, vol. XXVI, pl. VIII.

in Leto's script heretofore, the neater small variety of open *g* is consistently used but it is none the less the Pomponian variety, with its starting stroke and its loop which rests on the line. In like fashion nearly all the Pomponian traits can be sought with success: an occasional *oi*-form of *a*, both kinds of *e*'s, *f* with the loop closed, the characteristic *h*, the deep-throated *r*, the serpentine *s* dropping below the line, -*R* the only abbreviation for *-rum*, the regular *oe* ampersands⁸⁰ in abundance, *e* the only form of the digraph *ae*, the Pomponian abbreviation for *-tur*, and so on. Really the only exception to the Pomponian rule is the use of *-b̄* and *-q̄* for the heretofore consistent *-b:* and *-q:* respectively. In spite of these two new forms⁸¹ one cannot fail to see in both the text and the marginalia the elegant book-hand of Leto.⁸² The same statement holds for the Ovid (*Vat. Lat. 3264*).⁸³ In my opinion it holds equally well for the Silius Italicus (*Vat. Lat. 3302*); although the pen used here appears to have been a little heavier and the letters show a little more lateral compression, I cannot see why Zabughin feels the need of a question-mark in his subtitle ("mano di Pomponio?").⁸⁴ On the other hand, he is quite right in denying that Leto wrote the page from the Martial (*Vat. Lat. 3295*)⁸⁵ which appears in Vol. I, Pl. VIII.

The study of the group of MSS beginning with the "mattutino Pasquale" and extending through the Mazzatosta series has clearly determined the nature of Leto's script between 1469 and about 1471. We find it to be fundamentally the same as that of his signatures written in 1475, 1480, and 1484, and surprisingly con-

⁸⁰ In my notes written at the Vatican I find that elsewhere in this MS, as in *Vat. Lat. 3394*, one will occasionally see the very rare non-*oe* type mentioned above on p. 108.

⁸¹ Both forms appear in both text and marginalia.

⁸² Although I have no illustration of *Vat. Lat. 3279*, I doubt not that it is similar.

⁸³ Zab. II, pl. IV. The form *q̄* for *-que* occurs but there is no abbreviation of *-bus* on the page here illustrated.

⁸⁴ Zab. I, pl. IX. Again, there are occurrences of *q̄* but no abbreviations of *-bus* in this illustration.

⁸⁵ Zab. I 207-209. De Nolhac (p. 199) says: "Pomponius l'a exécuté. . . ." One need only note the dissimilar uncial *e*, the *f* always open, the figure-8 *g*, the serpentine *s* which does not drop below the line, the peculiar *u* with suprascript letters, and the ampersand.

sistent throughout in the important criteria, except for the variant forms of *-bus* and *-que* in the Mazzatosta series. If this consistency continues well into the 1480's we shall be able to say with considerable accuracy what scribal characteristics to expect in marginalia written by Leto at some time subsequent to 1483, the publication date of Tasso's *Horace*.

That the two versions of the *Regiones* in *Vat. Lat. 3394*⁸⁶ belong to this period I conclude from a combination of Zabughin's statements.⁸⁷ Clear proof that Leto wrote these pages derives from such test forms as *a, f, g, h, r, s, -b̄:, -q̄:, -R̄, e, -tur*, and both *oe* and *oc* forms of ampersand. This same monumental hand appears in the *Sylloge Epigraphica*⁸⁸ of *Vat. Lat. 3311*, which doubtless belongs to the same period⁸⁹ as the *Regiones*.

Finally we come to Leto's monumental *Fasti* of Ovid, *Vat. Lat. 3263*, which Zabughin dates as after 1488.⁹⁰ This work, written toward the end of Leto's life, constitutes a magnificent recapitulation of all his scribal characteristics.⁹¹ Note particularly that the

⁸⁶ On this MS see p. 106 above. Zab. (II 181) distinguishes two versions of the *Regiones*: the first occupies fol. 1R-20V; the second, fol. 21R-23R. Through the kindness of Cardinal Mercati I have photostatic copies of fol. 1R, 17R, 23R to supplement my notes taken at the Vatican Library. A section of fol. 17R is illustrated in pl. III E.

⁸⁷ The chronology is not easy. Zabughin (see I 253 ff.) distinguishes three periods in Leto's university instruction: (1) *critico-esegetico* (ca. 1470-1480), (2) *filologico-glottologico* (ca. 1480-84), (3) *storico* (ca. 1484(?) -1498). Zabughin emphasizes at length (I 257) that these periods overlap and are anything but rigid. Thus, while explaining (I 255-256 and II 225) that Leto had commenced his historical preparation by 1484, Zabughin dates the works of the third period as probably after 1490 (I 259: "tutta la serie dei chirografi del terzo periodo, posteriori, probabilmente, al 1490, cartacei, di formato piuttosto grande, scritti in caratteri quasi cubitali, è indubbiamente autografa"). Again, referring to the two versions of the *Regionarium* in *Vat. Lat. 3394*, he says (II 182) that they "sono di una scrittura affine a quella dei grandi chirografi del secondo periodo."

⁸⁸ Illustrated in Zab. II, pl. IX.

⁸⁹ Zabughin believes that Gamarro's work was compiled from this between 1489 and 1501. See Zab. I 264-65; II 192, 225-26, and n. 114 on pp. 370-71.

⁹⁰ II 152-53; and see pp. 141 ff. in general. Zabughin calls this *il maggior codice d'Ovidio* (Ω), thus distinguishing it from the Mazzatosta text, *l'Ovidio minore* (ω).

⁹¹ I base my observations on the five large, well-filled pages sent me by Cardinal Mercati: 1R, 13R, 28V, 34V, 35R. Both the text and the marginalia are by Leto. It is to be understood that the forms which I do not specifically mention are thor-

countless *g*'s are all the open, thoroughly Pomponian kind. A symbol for *-bus* like the one in the Mazzatosta texts occurs very rarely⁹² in place of the regular *-b:*. For *-que* and *-rum* the familiar *-q:* and *-R* are the only symbols used, and *-tur* is abbreviated only in the Pomponian fashion. Ampersands abound. The *6c* variety, though found occasionally within the lines of the text, is seen more commonly as a capital at the beginning of lines. The *oe*-type, however, with or without the *t*-stroke, decidedly preponderates.

The *Regiones*, the *Sylloge*, and the *Fasti*, therefore, demonstrate indisputably that Leto's hand has not changed since the writing of the "mattutino Pasquale" in 1469, and the various test-pieces which fall within these extreme limits of this twenty-year period prove this consistency to have been maintained throughout.⁹³ Since that is so, one cannot easily impugn our reasonableness if we expect to find these fundamental Pomponian traits in any marginalia claimed for Leto in the 1480's or 1490's.

What, then, do we find in the marginalia claimed for Leto in Tasso's Horace of 1483 at Brown? Plate III G of this article gives a good idea.⁹⁴ The nondescript letters we need not bother to analyze. Some forms, however, definitely resemble noteworthy Pomponian types. Conspicuous, for example, is the Greek *d*, though the other form of *d* is somehow not Pomponian. Again, the loop of the *f* is regularly closed; the *r* at times has a deep throat; and the form of the cedilla reminds one of Leto's.

A list of dissimilarities, however, comprises more items of de-

oughly Pomponian. This statement includes such peculiarities as *θ* for *th* and the use of *R* as a final *r*. Pl. III F illustrates a portion of the text and the marginalia of fol. 1R.

⁹² In the five pages at my disposal *-bus* is often spelled in full. Of the nineteen cases of the abbreviated form seventeen are the regular *-b:* and only two are *-bɔ*.

⁹³ It is obvious that, in order to speak with utter finality, I should have to scrutinize every line of every MS which has the least resemblance to Leto's hand. That ideal I may sometime realize; meanwhile, I feel confident that for the present purpose the cross-section method here adopted is adequate.

⁹⁴ I have selected as best for our purposes the two lines on fol. 43V which Angelini definitely states to have been written by Leto and two longer notes clearly in the same hand though not specifically mentioned by Angelini (fol. 153V, "Porphirion . . ." and 179V, "P . . ."). The evidence of these passages will be augmented by details drawn from others in the same hand.

cisive significance. The loop of the *b* holds itself somewhat aloof from the vertical stroke and at times a long initial up-stroke starting from the line replaces the normal finial at the top of the stem. Such *b*'s are not Leto's. The backs of the *e*'s, unlike Leto's, slant to the left; and the tops of these *e*'s, again unlike Leto's, are frequently more or less open. The loop of the *h* is too flat to be Leto's. Often *l* is connected to the preceding letter by a long stroke which starts on the line and extends to the top of the vertical stroke⁹⁵ as in the *b* above. While there are serpentine *s*'s which drop below the line, these *s*'s have not the abrupt angularity of Leto's. Often in forming a *t* the scribe of these marginalia, after writing the vertical stroke, does not lift his pen clear of the paper and then add the cross stroke; rather, without lifting his pen from the paper he completes the *t* with a quick upward curve to the right in quite un-Pomponian⁹⁶ style. In the hand called Leto's I found no occurrence of ampersand,⁹⁷ though *et* appears a number of times. However, *-bus* is rendered by a *b* plus a figure-9 symbol the tail of which drops well below the line. This figure-9 symbol differs from Leto's semi-circle open on the left,⁹⁸ and the *-b:* form appears nowhere. The only symbol for *-que* is *-q* plus a figure-3 (*-q3*), but we have found Leto using only *-q̄* or *-q:*. For *-rum* the only symbol which Leto uses is *-R̄*; but the scribe of these marginalia always makes a minuscule *r* the basis of his symbol, thus: *-r̄*. In the abbreviation for *-tur* there stands at the upper right-hand corner of the *t* a figure-2 stroke which is decidedly unlike Leto's stroke.

Finally, what about the most crucial test of all—*g*? Not once does the scribe called "Leto" write a Pomponian *g*! His *g*'s are regularly the figure-8 variety illustrated in Plate III G. The fact that they are occasionally so carelessly made that they gape open a little at the top does not in the least make them open *g*'s in the

⁹⁵ Leto sometimes employs a similar device in writing double *l* but rarely elsewhere.

⁹⁶ See p. 105 above.

⁹⁷ In the marginalia said to be Bernardo Tasso's an un-Pomponian form of ampersand is common.

⁹⁸ Referred to on p. 119 above.

Pomponian sense of the word. Occasionally one comes upon a form that might be described as a closed uncial *g*,⁹⁹ but be it noted that these are so emphatically closed that a person who has just been studying the hand of Leto could not regard them as Pomponian. This test and the corroborating evidence of the preceding paragraph make impossible my subscription to the statement that Tasso's Horace was "postillato da P. Leto."¹⁰⁰

LIST OF PLATES¹⁰¹

PLATE I

- A. *Vat. Lat.* 3964, Fol. 4V: signature 1.
- B. *Vat. Lat.* 3964, Fol. 5R: signature 2.
- C. *Vat. Lat.* 3964, Fol. 18V: signature 3.
- D. *Vat. Lat.* 3394, Fol. 48V: signature 4.

PLATE II

- A. *Vat. Lat.* 3394, Fol. 39R: Probus.
- B. *Vat. Lat.* 3233, Fol. 2R or V (from Zab. I, pl. IV): "Mattutino Pasquale."

PLATE III

- A. *Vat. Lat.* 3229, Fol. 27R: Cicero, *Philippics*; only the marginalia are in Leto's hand.
- B. *Vat. Lat.* 3255, Fol. 1R (from Zab. II, pl. V): Virgil, *Georgics*; not written by Leto.
- C. 1 and 2. *Vat. Lat.* 2769, Fol. 27V: Calcidio's *Horace*; not written by Leto.
- D. *Vat. Lat.* 3229, Fol. 3R: *Principium orationis Ciceronis in templo Telluris: Ex Dione*.
- E. *Vat. Lat.* 3394, Fol. 17R: *Regiones*.
- F. *Vat. Lat.* 3263, Fol. 1R: Ovid, *Fasti* (Ω).
- G. 1, 2, 3. Brown University 1483-H78, Fol. 153V, 43V, and 179V respectively: marginalia claimed to have been written by Leto's hand.

⁹⁹ For instance on fol. 132R, 146R, 167R.

¹⁰⁰ Whether the other annotating hands are those of Bernardo and Torquato Tasso is not part of our problem, but concerning Torquato's hand in the Brown Horace, Rudolph Altrocchi has written in his "Tasso's Holograph Annotations to Horace's *Ars Poetica*," *Publ. Modern Lang. Assn.* XLIII, No. 4 (Dec. 1928), 931-952.

¹⁰¹ With two exceptions these plates are made from my own photostatic copies as indicated above.

THE NEURAL BASIS OF LANGUAGE AND THE PROBLEM OF THE "ROOT"¹

BY JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

[SUMMARY. There is no *problem of the root* except in semantic terms, but only the several problems of roots in specific languages or groups of languages. Even there it is often advantageous to distinguish between entities in respect of their semantic content as *roots*, and other entities in respect of their morphological and phonetic pattern as *bases*.]

WITHIN the whole range of linguistic studies, there is no question that has been the subject of such loose method, and laxer theory, as that which is proposed for discussion now—the problem of the root. At one extreme we have some philosopher, Croce for example, protesting that ‘roots,’ about which philologists puzzle themselves so much, are as unimportant and as irrelevant as the other grammatical categories that he opposes, or as the other linguistic elements, sounds, syllables and the rest, against which he protests on the ground that they are in reality physical facts, with no intellectual content, and that they are therefore non-linguistic. This, despite the manifest fact, familiar, one would have supposed, even to a philosopher, that in one of the best known and widest diffused group of languages, roots are the most perspicuous and regular of its components. True, it is not inevitable or for that matter usual that such is the case, that linguistic science, not to mention traditional grammar, can easily or successfully name, without wide study and careful search, if indeed it can name them at all, the ‘roots’ of a language or of a group of related languages, much less describe them in a general statement reduced to precise terms. Yet, at the opposite extreme, we have the philologists themselves striving to formulate, for one language or another, ‘un schème constant’ of ‘roots,’ ‘dont les variations, alternances, élargissements, etc. obéissent à des règles précises’ (Benveniste, *Première publication du V^{me} Congrès International des Linguistes, Supplément*, Bruges, 1939, p. 5). But all this is a mat-

¹ This paper was to have been read before the Fifth International Congress of Linguists (Brussels, 28 August–2 September, 1939): *Marti aliter visum*.

ter of the grammar, historical or descriptive as the case may be, of a specific language or group of languages. How much less tangible the problem becomes, if it too is stated not in specific, but in general terms—not the problem of the Indo-European root, or Semitic root, or what not, but “The Problem of the Root.”

The concept of the root itself, it is necessary to remind ourselves, was formed by pioneers among Semitic grammarians who were concerned with the formal study of their native tongue. For them the existence of roots of the regular triliteral pattern was so obvious a fact that they could not fail to recognize it. A root was a real basis, underlying the normal formation of a large number of words. The fact that early systems of writing helped to lead them to this conclusion does not weaken its validity either for them or for us. And it was only confirmed when their observation was extended so as to include related Semitic dialects in which not merely the same pattern, but even identical roots, came before their notice. Borrowed from Semitic, the concept has been applied, more or less openly, sometimes quite frankly, sometimes disguisedly, to other linguistic groups, and notably to Indo-European itself ever since the time of F. Bopp. It is undisguised in Bopp’s own theories of monosyllabic ‘pronominal’ and ‘verbal’ roots; it proclaims itself on the title-page of Benfey’s *Wurzellexikon*, the first part of which was published exactly one hundred years ago (1839); and if Walde, following Brugmann, insisted that the Indo-European speaking peoples have always talked not in roots but in words, yet the pages of Walde’s Indo-European, even more clearly than those of his Latin, etymological dictionary imply much facile doctrine about Indo-European roots and repeatedly use the term root explicitly. In recent works, especially of the French school, as the words of Benveniste quoted at the beginning of this paper testify, a new theory of Indo-European roots has been stated in great detail and with considerable precision. We may also recall the practice of the native Sanskrit grammarians, who have always operated, for their own purposes, with roots, highly artificial as their practice sometimes may be.

A glance at the pages of the *Réponses au Questionnaire* prepared for this Congress (pp. 5-24, and *Supplément*, pp. 5-10; cf. *Résumés*

des Communications, pp. 57-60) will suffice to show how the same concept is freely used, with or without apology, in many other fields than the Semitic or Indo-European. There are reports on the problem of the root in Hamitic, Ugro-Finnish, Berber, Altaic, Chinese, Tibetan, African-Negro, Sudanese, Hottentot, and Austronesian. It is questionable whether observations made in such diverse areas of speech can have any real bearing upon one another, or whether conclusions of any validity can be drawn from them. And compared with the replies that are concerned solely with the problem of the 'root,' those which deal with Indo-European roots, Semitic roots, and the rest, are the more numerous and by far the more impressive.

How, in fact, has the subject of the problem of the root been approached and how has it been interpreted? What have the several contributors actually done? Out of the entire number (unknown to me, but presumably more than twenty-one), of those invited to write on this problem, from one and twenty there are as many different printed replies. Of these twelve are devoted to discussions of the question of roots in one or more specific languages; six others include some consideration of a general problem of roots in addition to specific problems in specific languages; only three, my own and two others, stick to the point—the problem of the root. This may be due to misunderstanding—I cannot say. Or it may be due to failure to word the subject for discussion differently. But at least it was worded clearly enough—"the problem of the root," not of the Indo-European root, or Semitic root, or some other root, and I and two others at least took the wording to mean what it said. I am loth to attribute misunderstanding or carelessness to my betters. But the only alternatives are hardly to be preferred—either most of those who replied to the question at all evaded it, feeling that it was hard to grasp or being uncertain how to grasp it, or else the propounders of it have raised a question that is unreal. For my own part this last possibility occurred to me only when I read the replies to the question, but I do not regard it seriously, either in connexion with the particular replies printed in the *Première publication* of this Congress, or on its own merits—in my view there is such a thing as the problem

of the root and the question is a real one. I do not find it astonishing, however, that so many of us side-step the issue, not from misunderstanding or carelessness, but because the issue itself is elusive.

As a subject of discussion, therefore, "the problem of the root" is one that needs to be clarified.² Obviously the problem of Semitic roots is no novelty—it is so free from difficulties as to be hardly a problem. And just as obviously the problem of Indo-European 'roots' can be grasped—solutions of it, in fact, are proposed from time to time, the most recent having peculiar claims to our serious attention. Likewise with the problem of Ugro-Finnish roots, and so forth. But is there a "problem of the root" in general, in anything like the same sense; and, if there is, can it be approached, and how? Sauvageot (*Prem. publ.*, p. 9) remarks, and with reason, that the 'root' is, among linguistic entities, one of the most difficult to grasp, and that current theories concerning it err in being too exclusively dependent upon historical considerations. What is wanted, he goes on to say, is a broad descriptive study, 'rigoureusement synchronique,' as a necessary first step of procedure in dealing with the entire problem. 'Such a study would bring to light all the complexities and variations to be found in our concept of the root, a concept which develops very differently in one language or linguistic type as compared with another.' There would still remain many preliminary questions to be answered, before one could approach the general problem of the root, and above all the enquiry should not be limited to a few Indo-European languages.

With all this, I can only express myself as being in the most cordial agreement. But these preliminary studies, it need not be stressed, have not been made and are beyond the powers of a single investigator, certainly beyond the scope of this present paper. Whatever suggestions are advanced here, therefore, will be subject

² Compare now (25 Aug. 1939) the *Rapport* of M. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Deuxième publication du V^{me} Congrès International des Linguistes*, Bruges, 1939, pp. 7-18, and especially p. 8; and also the two very suggestive papers by G. van Langenhove in his *Linguistische Studiën* (Antwerp and 'S Gravenhage), 1939, pp. 89-151, 1-47.

to such modification as these preliminary studies, if ever they are undertaken and completed, may demand. But they have this advantage, I think, that they are easily adaptable to new demands, more especially those that are addressed to psychology or to physiology and neurology for answer.

(1) In the first place, then, it is necessary to make a distinction, at least in those languages in which roots are to be isolated only by means of a minute and rigorous linguistic analysis of recorded forms, i.e., by means of the historical and comparative method; and it is desirable to make the same distinction in those in which roots are more obvious and often, in fact, identical with many or most of the recorded forms, especially if at some period of their history, as is usually the case, their morphological pattern has been quite different, so that what is valid in a purely descriptive method would be inapplicable at other periods. That is to say, we must distinguish between *root* and what may be conveniently called *base*. I use this latter term without reference to the sense in which Hirt employed it in his studies of ablaut, a sense also used after him by Brugmann. The distinction is made necessary by the two factors which enter into every attempt to identify the structural elements of a language—the *semantic* and the *morphological-phonetic*. If, in certain languages, or in certain instances in certain languages, it happens that at some time or other in the history of these languages, root and base as thus distinguished happen to be identical in external shape, that fact does not lessen the importance of the principle as a general principle. For it is always necessary to take into consideration meaning as well as phonetic and morphological pattern. Moreover, the distinction obviously is useful in the large, perhaps overwhelmingly larger, number of instances in which root and base are not identical in external shape—at least if all the languages of the world throughout their known histories are to be brought within a general theory of the root. Even within the limited scope of Indo-European, it makes all the difference, as Kuryłowicz has pointed out (*Prem. publ.*, p. 13), what period one chooses to work with, whether we are to write for example **oyi-s* or **oy-is*; and, without reverting to older theories of determinatives (which at times appear to have no recognizable

semantic effect, e.g., **tre-m-*, **tre-p-*, **tre-s-*), or of dissyllabic bases (where again there may be an important difference between forms which work well enough semantically, e.g., **bhey-*, but not morphologically), we have a certain residue of words in which there is place for a semantically defined root, but, to follow the author of the latest theory, not a morphologically defined root. Benveniste (*Prem. publ.*, Suppl., p. 5) declares that not all the lexical elements of Indo-European can be reduced to roots. In principle, he says, only primary nominal and verbal categories go back to roots; but certain classes of words do not—personal and demonstrative pronouns, particles, many prepositions and petrified adverbial forms. By this he means of course that they cannot be reduced to roots according to the rules which he has formulated as governing the pattern of Indo-European roots! To what then are they to be reduced? How are they connected together with one another at all, in one or more than one Indo-European language, that is either descriptively or historically and comparatively? Surely most of them, taken one by one, have a semantic content which they hold in common, even if the morphological or phonetic framework in their structure is not capable of being stated in accordance with a preconceived set of rules, or is not easily compared as we pass from one language to another, so that to whatever shape we finally reduce them, that shape does not hold for all the Indo-European languages and does not hold at all for the given phonetic and morphological pattern which works well or perfectly for large masses of words of other categories.

On occasion, therefore, it would appear that the distinction between root and base will prove practically useful as well as theoretically. Besides, even a cursory examination of what is written on the subject of roots will show that some authors stress the aspect of semantic content, some that of phonetic-morphological shape, some stress now the one and now the other, and some stress both, or even both at one point and either the one aspect or the other at other points in their argument. What could be more confusing? This confusion, which is most apparent even in the few pages devoted to the topic in the *Première publication*, can be ended, easily and once and for all, by making the distinction which

I propose and which I consider to be absolutely essential to all useful consideration of a general theory of the root. And, as Cuny has pointed out (*Prem. publ.*, p. 22), since the problem is a general one, its solution also must be general.

It is towards the formation of an acceptable general theory of the root that the rest of this paper is intended to contribute. It will be concerned, therefore, not with the base (morphological), but with the root (semantic). Hence it is not necessary for me to say anything about the various specific theories of Indo-European (or other) root which are advanced today; but so far as concerns Indo-European, for my own part I do not hesitate to declare myself persuaded by the attractive theory of Benveniste. It has so many advantages over the older theories, especially in the use which it enables us to make of Hittite, taking into account the laryngeal hypothesis, where I incline to Pedersen's simplification, that it may be said to hold the field.

(2) Second, it is of course no novelty to lay stress upon the element of meaning in the definition of the concept of the root. The importance of this element is recognized by all investigators alike, in all linguistic fields as well as in the field of general linguistics. Thus, in Indo-European, a root is defined as "a radical element, indivisible in form, productive in its nature, and *meaningful in content*" (Benveniste, *Prem. publ., Suppl.*, p. 5—the italics are mine); or weight is put upon the psychological scheme that is involved, the semantic function, or "innere Sprachform" (Procopovici, *ibid.* p. 7), or upon the semantic (as well as phonetic) agreement to be found among the radicals of a single series (Przyluski, *ibid.* p. 10). Amman (*Prem. publ.* p. 5) speaks of "Bedeutungseinheit" in connexion with roots, Collinder (*ibid.* p. 6) of psychological schemata and "semantisch zusammenhängenden Formen," Kuryłowicz (*ibid.* p. 12) of the semantic-morphological factor that must necessarily underlie a definition of the root, Brockelmann (*ibid.* p. 15, with reference to Semitic) of the "Bedeutungszentrum" that is to be abstracted from different groups of words bearing such a core or kernel of meaning, of the root as a "Gedankengebilde" or "psychische Realität," Basset (*ibid.* p. 19, with reference to Berber) of the root as "une réalité dans la

pensée consciente ou inconsciente du sujet parlant," and so forth. It is abundantly clear that so soon as two or more than two unrelated groups of related languages, or merely two unrelated languages, are brought into consideration, semantics is all that can be insisted upon in framing a general theory of roots. It is doubtful whether even the single exception of Indo-European and Semitic, where there is perhaps observable a certain parallelism (cf. Van Wijk, *ibid.* p. 15), is a real exception to this view. Brugmann, writing only of Indo-European alone, always maintained that in the *Grundriss* he invariably used the term root in a psychological sense and only in that sense (Vol. I, ed. 2, pp. 37-40). Hence I have absolutely nothing to say about the phonetic or morphological pattern of 'roots' properly considered. It appears to me absolutely futile to attempt to say anything about a matter so utterly conjectural. All sorts of fantastic views are proposed, ranging all the way from "clics" to "primitive singing," from the once fashionable monosyllabism to Jespersen's *sesquipedia*, from rigid trilateral groups to undefined and undefinable "Wurzelsätze" or "Aussprechsätze." But all this I judge to be irrelevant to the real problem and too chimaerical to be worth pursuing. It makes no difference at all to a satisfactory general theory, what the external shape of a root may be or have been in a given language at some given time.

Still less am I concerned here with that other will-o'-the-wisp, the origin of language. We know nothing positive about the origin of language and probably never shall. Most of what is written on the subject is fatuous nonsense, sheer guesswork, as foolish as it is unnecessary.

So far are we then from being obliged, or even wise in trying, to state the general problem of the root in historical terms. The very lack of records sets severe limits to what is *known* (and when I write known I *mean* known) of the development of language in all except a few recent millennia. Presumably this will always be so. Hence any general theory of the root that lays claim to reveal or to demonstrate a certain morphological or phonetic pattern rests upon unproved, if not unprovable, assumptions. In order to be acceptable, a general theory must apply generally, that is to say

it must conceive the root as an entity that may be identified in language, wherever and whatever, at any and all periods. Such an entity can only be semantic; and, in fact, in any given case ("and every case is a given case when you come to it"), that is in dealing with any particular language or any group of related languages, scholars do in practice isolate roots primarily on a semantic basis, and proceed only in the second place to statements about their phonetic and morphological make-up, which may or may not be valid for that particular language or group at some particular date.

But a semantic criterion is universal in its application. This is so because the convention of meaning is the very core and essence of language. Perhaps it may be objected that my theory of the root requires the assumption of something that cannot be shown to exist at all, a psychological concept of general and universal application for which there is no basis of support. Such an objection is easily refuted. Without the concept of neural schemata, which must be nearly if not quite identical with what I have in mind when I speak of roots, human language itself as we know it could hardly exist. Meaning, above all conventional meaning upon which all language is dependent, would be impossible; thought would be impossible. If the root as I see it does not exist, then thought and meaning and linguistic expression do not exist. But there is ample support to be had for explaining this indispensable feature, meaning, not only of roots, but of language itself, from psychology or neurology.

For long the psychologists have conducted a search for a fitting unit whereby to explain the mental processes commonly known as thought. William James used the term "atom," and maintained that there was an "atom" corresponding to each "concept," and for him, following as he did traditional philosophy and logic, a concept was fixed and static, incapable of change. Morton Prince took a step further in his theory of the "neurogram," a term in every way preferable to William James's "atom." The Viennese psychologist Richard Semon introduced yet another term, namely "engram." He was led to his doctrine after long biological studies of the abiding effects of transient stimuli on irritable living tissues,

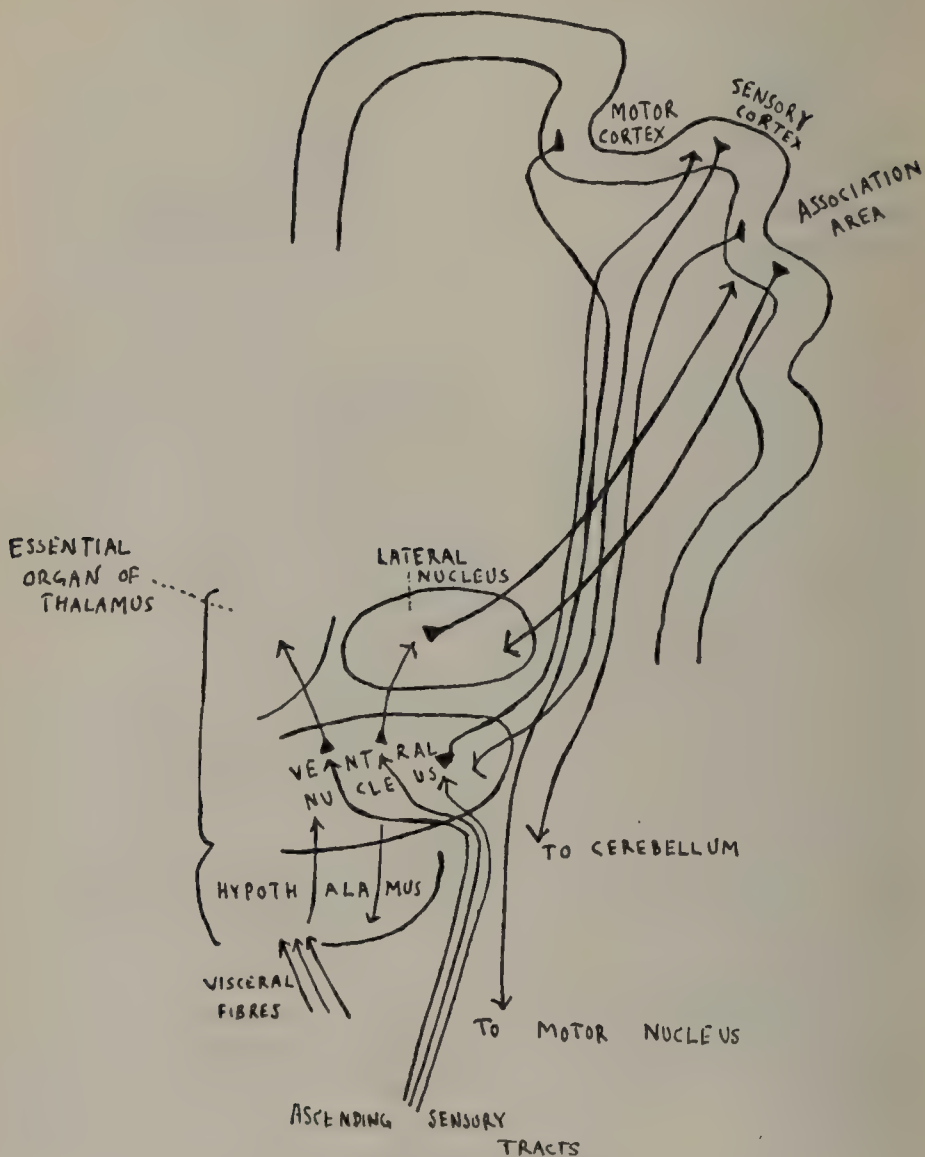


Diagram of the Thalamic, Hypothalamic, and Cortical
Connexions of the Human Brain.

(From: *The Neural Basis of Thought*, G. C. Campion and
Sir G. Elliot Smith, London, 1934, p. 32, Fig. 3)

and regarded "engrams" as physiological patterns, more or less stable. Meanwhile Bergson and others, abandoning traditional teaching, came to hold that a concept is not static and rigid, but rather supple, plastic, and fluid. In the course of his highly important studies in neurology the late Sir Henry Head came to conclusions which, while leading to new and valuable knowledge of the brain, in some respects confirm the views of Semon whose "engrams" appear to be very much the same thing as what Head has called "neural schemata"—slowly formed physiological patterns between groups of neurones and together making up a huge and complicated network of paths for the transmission of impulses. These patterns are gradually established in the course of individual experience, and as they grow and change concepts grow and change with them.

In the joint work, *The Neural Basis of Thought*, of George C. Champion and the late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith (London, 1934), to which I am greatly indebted and from which the accompanying diagram is taken, a far-reaching modification of Sir Henry Head's results has been introduced, namely the theory that there are paths not merely from the sensory organs through the thalamus to the cortex of the brain and thence to the motor muscles, so that an external stimulus may result for example in speech (since articulate speech is a muscular activity controlled by the brain), but also for the alternating circulation of neural impulses through "these multitudinous neural schemata from the thalami and other basal ganglia to the cortex and then back to the thalami by these cortico-thalamic paths" (p. 13), with the result that provision is made for reflective thought or, so to speak, for talking silently, i.e., without audible articulation. This theory, which in some ways is almost as revolutionary as was in its own day Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, has the great merit of providing a satisfactory account of mental processes, what we call thought, on a physiological basis. It is due to Champion, but it had the approval of Elliot Smith whose knowledge of the subject was profound and whose authority in this sphere of learning was great and unquestioned. Needless to say, both authors regard a concept as susceptible to continual change by a process of organic growth, no less

than the neural schemata postulated by Head. Where their statement of the theory fails, for the linguist, is in this: the authors did not realise that also the verbal symbol corresponding to a concept is not static and rigid, but likewise liable to change—and not least to semantic change. Had they been fully aware of this fact, which is a commonplace to linguists, they would have been able to give an even more satisfactory account of the use of verbal symbols, i.e., of language, corresponding to concepts and to their neural schemata.³

From the researches of Sir Henry Head and of Campion and Elliot Smith it would appear to be an inescapable conclusion that the convention of meaning in language, that is to say the essential factor that, we insist, must be satisfactorily explained in an adequate general theory of the root, rests upon a neural basis which in its turn finds its most satisfactory explanation in Campion's theory of thalamo-cortical circulation. And this theory provides for the best account known to me of the relation between thought and language, and of their mutual development. Language must change for the simple reason that we are all biologically individual from the day we are separated from our mothers' bodies, even if the rate and the direction of change in language be conditioned, as they are, by the fact that though biologically individual we are all socially members of a linguistic community with which we must remain linguistically, as well as in other ways, in accord.

The problem of the root, then, I regard as largely the same as the problem of meaning. This, it appears to me, is the only sense in

³ Psychologists will also welcome investigations supplementary to Campion's theory. As a sample, take the following quotation: "Under the influence of the gestalt-theory (based on field physics), modern psychology is being led step by step closer to the notion of consciousness as a pulsating electromagnetic field in and around the brain and the central nervous system. This idea provides a mechanism for the instantaneousness and richness of content of consciousness and may help us to explain the newly discovered facts of *electroencephalograms* (Berger-rhythms due to changes of electrical potential)." (*Psyche* XVII 1939, p. 149.)

Since this paper was written I have read also Sherrington's *Man on his Nature* (Cambridge University Press, 1940) in which the problem of "mind" is considered much more cautiously than it was by Campion; but there is nothing in Sherrington's views which would exclude Campion's theory.

which there is a problem of the root at all—unless, indeed, we believe in the monogenesis of language and at the same time believe that we can reconstruct the most primitive language of man, beliefs the latter of which, at any rate, I am very far from holding. Otherwise, the very concept of the root, stated in general terms, is meaningless and incapable of fundamental formulation; but in that case we are left with roots capable of definition only in terms of particular languages at particular epochs.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D., 1940-1941

KARL KELCHNER HULLEY—*Hieronymus Quatenus Artem Criticam Noverit*¹

IN THIS study I have tried to set forth the principles of textual criticism known to St. Jerome, so far as these may be determined from his own statements, in order to present an aspect of the methodology of this great Christian scholar which, to my knowledge, has not previously been examined as a whole. As a foundation for the interpretation of his critical comments, the first part of this study collects such information as he affords relating to *Buchwesen* and palaeography, the importance of which in the art of textual criticism is obvious. In connection with this part of my study, the works of Birt, Gardthausen, and other scholars have proved of invaluable assistance. In the second part, I have treated Jerome's comments which relate to the criticism of texts, including first his attitude toward criticism—an attitude arising from his conviction that the existing copies of the Bible contained numerous false readings and that even though the Bible was the inspired word of God, the correction of copyists' errors was by no means a sacrilege. Next I have tried to show what Jerome says about constituting a text; then to enumerate the types of scribal errors which he mentions; and finally to bring together such statements as bear on higher criticism. For this part, much use has been made of such works as Havet, *Manuel de critique verbale* and Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik*, of which the latter has furnished a pattern for the arrangement of the material.

The material presented in the first part, though gathered primarily as a foundation for the second, points nevertheless to the following needed corrections in the statements of scholars:

1. Contrary to Birt's statement that in Jerome's works the terms *liber* and *libellus* are synonomous, in certain passages the diminutive form seems to have its proper diminutive force. 2. Birt's contention that Jerome's library of secular works consisted entirely of codices seems questionable, particularly since the statements of

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

Jerome clearly indicate that he possessed certain Christian works in roll-form. 3. Birt's assertion that because Jerome's commentaries were published in roll-form, they must have appeared through commercial channels, is not borne out by Jerome's requests to friends to make for him copies of desired works *in charta*. 4. Wikenhauser, who says that Jerome offers no evidence that *notarii* wrote letters as they were dictated in wax tablets, seems to overlook the evidence of *Epp.* 18A, 16, 2 and 64, 21, 1. 5. The form of the monogram which Jerome discusses seems a peculiar one not considered by Traube. 6. Gudeman's statement that Jerome's evidence for Origen's use of the *asteriscus* and the *obelus* indicates that they were sometimes used together seems erroneous, and Jerome's own use of two dots : to indicate the end of passages marked with the *asteriscus* or with the *obelus* is overlooked.

From the material presented in the second part, the following principles of textual criticism recognized by Jerome may be formulated under three headings:

A. *Establishment of the text*

In the establishment of the text of a work, it is necessary to include the title, which, if authentic, forms an important part of the text, and to make a careful selection of variant readings. For this selection, collation of texts is essential, and, for Biblical texts, it includes the comparison of translations with one another and with texts in the original language. Readings, however, attested by the majority of manuscripts are not necessarily the correct ones, because manuscripts are not all of equal value; but in their evaluation two considerations are important: their age and the quality of the copyist's work. Since errors accumulate in the multiplication of copies over a period of time, the older a manuscript is the more nearly correct it is likely to be; but apart from age, value attaches to well-written and carefully corrected manuscripts. Further, when readings are being considered, *testimonia* are important, but must be used with caution since quotations are sometimes made from memory; likewise the context of the passage and the thought of the writer must be carefully taken into account. Errors must not be presumed without adequate reason.

B. *Errors and their cause*

Where errors exist in the text, it is necessary to know their cause in order to correct them. Errors made by copyists are of two classes: the first consisting of errors which arise from mechanical mis-copying; the second of those which arise from ill-judged attempts to emend and from interpolations.

C. *Higher criticism*

The arrangement and composition of works as intended by the author must be realized. Jerome in certain passages notes the evidence of alterations from the original arrangement of works but does not say that the original form is to be restored. Moreover, evidence bearing on authenticity must be carefully weighed. Here belong indications pointing to alteration of texts, forgeries, and false ascriptions; questions arising from the tone and style of works; and problems of chronology.

Finally a general principle may be understood from Jerome's words which applies to every aspect of a critic's work; namely, that the constant exercise of restraint and sober judgment is a primary essential of critical procedure.

EDWIN ALPHONSUS QUAIN—*A Stylistic Study of the Works of John the Scot*¹

THE purpose of this study was to make an analysis of the authentic works of John the Scot and a tabulation of the traits that may be said to be characteristic of his Latin style.

In chapter I, after a résumé of the available evidence as to his Irish ancestry, his position at the Court of Charles the Bald, his part in the controversy on predestination (850-851, *De Praedestinatione*, an almost completely argumentative work, the source of which seems to be St. Augustine with John's own analysis of the problem), was considered his *De Divisione Naturae*, dated between 862 and 866, a vast synthetic work in five books purporting to treat of all reality, in which many digressions mar the promised uniformity of structure. Then are treated the two works on the Fourth

¹ Degree in Mediaeval Latin.

Gospel: a Homily on the liturgical portion of the text and a commentary on certain sections of the first six chapters, written between 865 and 870. Finally, his *Expositiones super Hierarchiam Caelestem*, dated in the same period as the preceding work, is a commentary on the text of Denis the Areopagite.

The translations made by John of the works of Denis, Maximus the Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa were not stylistically analysed, owing to the method of translation used by John—that of an inter-linear version, preserving the word order and construction of the Greek text. The *Annotationes in Marcianum* and the commentaries on the *Opuscula Sacra* and *Consolatio Philosophiae*, attributed to John, were reserved for further examination in the light of the stylistic criteria gathered from the analysis of his authentic works.

Chapter II contains a brief analysis of what is meant by the style of an author; it is defined as the characteristic choice of expression used by him. Chapter III treats of the analysis and tabulation of the minor characteristics of John's style. It was discovered that the gap of a decade between the *De Praedestinatione* and the *De Divisione Naturae* showed a striking development in his style in that the latter shows a greater ornateness and uniformity, while following the trends that are apparent in the first work. From a man with a good general education John has become a specialist and the consequent effects on style are clearly to be discerned. A familiarity with certain rhetorical devices such as balance, antithesis and periodic structure are manifested in the *De Praedestinatione* and in the last book of the *De Divisione Naturae*. The style varies somewhat, according to the expository or argumentative character of each work, as when we notice a diminution in the use of strong illative particles in an exposition, and the rapid manner of a passage of strict reasoning.

John's habits of style may be listed as follows: *Ac per hoc* as a mild, illative connective; *Hoc est* in preference to *Id est*; *Velut* with hardly a single verifiable example of *Velut*; *Dico* introducing a parenthetical expression, making specific something referred to generically just above; *Videlicet* in preference to *Scilicet*; *Fortassis* with only traces of *Fortasse* and with *Forte* used occasionally in

conjunction with *An* and *Nisi*; *Absque* especially with *ulla* in preference to *Sine*; *Penitus* with a liking for a privative term to the action; many varieties of the negative and positive expression of an idea are found, from a simple *Non—Sed* to *Non Solummodo—Sed*, *Nihil aliud—Nisi*, *Nulla alia—praeter* and *Nihil melius—quam*; and his preference for *Non solum—Verum etiam* above all similar expressions.

Itaque grows in popularity as his works progress; *Quidem—Vero*, with an occasional *Siquidem—Vero* (also in a correlative sense) is frequent; *Enim* is three times as frequent as *Nam*; a restrictive use of *Ut arbitror* with an occasional *Ni fallor* or *Ut opinor*; *Ideoque* with some cases of *Atque Ideo*; *Igitur* is far ahead of *Ergo*, except in the last two works. *Autem* and *Vero* predominate over the stronger *Sed*, especially after *Enim*, limiting the force of the reason alleged. A complete tabulation of the use of these expressions appears at the end of the Chapter.

In Chapter IV are treated the more extended expressions and devices of construction. Litotes is found in about twenty different forms, with a preference for *Non Immerito* and *Non Incongrue*. The expression *In naturae sinibus* is frequent and there are many variations on this theme; *Ceteraque id genus* is characteristic with its variations from a simple *Ceteraque* to *Ceteraque mille* and *Ceteraque innumerabilia*; *Non enim*, introducing a negative proof of an assertion, is seen to indicate a distinct quality of his style; the metaphor of *Light* and *Darkness* in whatever concerns cognition is notable, related to the Augustinian theory of Illumination; the frequent use of rhetorical questions, imagined adversaries and vigorous citations of authorities for the purpose of stressing a point of his argument; the continual use of *doublets*, (pairs of nouns, verbs and adjectives and adverbs in the positive, comparative and superlative degrees) which may be synonyms, contrasted ideas or cases of hendiadys, with a view to the clarity of his thought; the use of balance, antithesis and periodic structure; the comparative paucity of subordinate clauses and the frequency of polysyndeton; the use of *Vel certe* of an alternative and preferred explanation at the end of a series of possibilities; the artistic manner of introducing author-

ities; his use of *Ac si aperte diceret* (with *diceret* twice as frequent as *dixisset*) when unveiling the hidden allegorical meaning of the text.

In the matter of his personal vocabulary—that is, favorite words with a slightly different shade of meaning—some samples are here given: *Filietas* and *Filiolitas*; *humanatio* and *inhumanatio*; *theoria* in the sense of *contemplatio*; *theologus* of one who speaks of God; *Citivolus* and *altivolus*; *Vertex apostolorum* of St. Peter; characterizing his arguments we have: *Inconcussa*, *significantius*, *luculenter*, *apertissime* and many forms of *aperire*. Also compound forms such as: *deificus*, *deividus*, *deigerus*; and countless expressions allied to *lucidissime*, *clarissime*, and *purum* and *liquidum* to express the clarity and transparency of his exposition.

Chapter V is a conclusion and summary with a caution as to the uncritical use of these stylistic indications and the need for a careful analysis and comparison of the subject matter, literary genre and form of any work to which they are to be applied.

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